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# The Palestine Resolution

A Record of Its Origin

By Rabbi Simon Glazer

Published by the  
UNITED SYNAGOGUES OF GREATER KANSAS CITY  
1922

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KANSAS CITY, MO

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## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION



*Very truly yours,  
Warren G. Harding*

PRESIDENT WARREN G. HARDING  
"He Made Good His Promise"

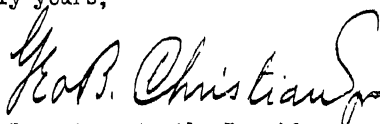
THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 25, 1922.

My dear Rabbi Glazer:

In compliance with your request of July 19th, the President has been glad to autograph a photograph for the purpose mentioned. I have pleasure in sending it to you today, under other cover.

Sincerely yours,

  
Secretary to the President.

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
612 Massachusetts Building,  
Kansas City, Missouri.

*Facsimile of Letter Authorizing Dedication of This  
Work to the President.*

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

July 19, 1922.

Honorable George G. Christian Jr.

Secretary to the President,

Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

On November 18, 1921 the President promised to see the Honorable Arthur J. Balfour in reference to Palestine as a national homeland for the Jewish people. The President did so. As a result of his great influence both houses of Congress have passed resolutions favoring such a national homeland for the Jewish people. Senators Charles Curtis of Kansas and Seldon P. Spencer were the first men to take up this matter. All records in connection with that are now being published by the United Synagogues of Greater Kansas City. The work will be dedicated to the President and it is desirable that we have an autographed photograph of him to appear on the dedicatory page.

I trust that you will find the time to comply with our request, and thanking you most heartily in anticipation, I am

Yours very cordial,

SG:RT

Rabbi of the United Synagogues  
of Greater Kansas City.

*Facsimile Copy of Letter Outlining Reason of Having  
This Work Dedicated to the President.*

# THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 13, 1921.

My dear Rabbi Glazer:

The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of September 30th, and to call attention to the fact that the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, known as the Treaty of Sevres, has not come into effect and that, therefore, such matters as the ratification of mandates and other readjustments affecting the former Ottoman Empire cannot for the moment be given definitive action.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Geo B. Christian, Jr.".

Secretary to the President.

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
612 Massachusetts Building,  
Kansas City, Missouri.

*Facsimile of Letter Which Cleared the Atmosphere and  
Revealed Exact Situation.*



## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION



HON HENRY J ALLEN  
Governor of the State of Kansas.  
"Ennobled by Modesty."

# THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

STATE OF KANSAS

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

TOPEKA November 21, 1921.

Rabbi Simon Glazer,

Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Rabbi Glazer:

Thank you for your kind telegram of the 17th from Washington. I found it waiting for me upon my return home today.

I was in Washington Saturday and had lunch with the President and Senator Curtis. They both spoke of you and of how glad they were to have an opportunity to comply with your request.

I am sincerely glad that your visit to Washington brought you so much pleasure and so much opportunity for usefulness to your people.

sincerely,



*Facsimile of Letter Showing the Work of God Through  
America's Greatest Statesmen.*

# THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

STATE OF KANSAS

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

TOPEKA

October 21, 1921.

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
718 Delaware St.,  
Kansas City, Mo.

My dear Rabbi Glazer:

Thank you for your kind letter of the 20th inst.  
I am glad to have been of even slight benefit to you  
in reference to the matter of the federal resolution.  
I shall always be glad to serve you and your people in  
any way.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "H. Allen", written in a cursive style.

*Facsimile of Governor Allen's Letter After Senator  
Curtis Took Matters Up With State Department.*

# THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

STATE OF KANSAS

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

TOPEKA September 19, 1921.

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
United Synagogues of Greater Kansas City,  
Kansas City, Mo.

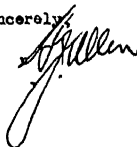
My dear Rabbi Glazer:

I am sending you herewith the letter I received from Senator Curtis. You will note the second paragraph of his letter, in which he states that if you wish him to present the resolution he will be glad to go over it and take the matter up with the state department and to introduce it, in case the state department sees no complications in it.

I am glad that Senator Curtis so thoroughly sympathizes with your attitude in this matter, and I feel certain that he will be able to give you some valuable assistance.

I expect to talk with Senator Capper personally about this. I feel sure that he will co-operate with anything Senator Curtis does.

Yours sincerely,



*Facsimile of Governor Allen's Letter Showing the First Step Taken in Bringing About the Palestine Resolution.*

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION



GOVERNOR ARTHUR HYDE  
of Missouri  
"An Everready Friend"

# THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION



ARTHUR M HYDE  
GOV. 1921

EXECUTIVE OFFICES  
STATE OF MISSOURI  
CITY OF JEFFERSON

Sept. 23, 1921.

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
Kansas City, Missouri.

My dear Rabbi Glazer:

I acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 26th. I had already written to Senator Spencer, because I felt that I had sufficient facts on hand to justify the message.

I am this morning in receipt of a letter from Sen. Selden P. Spencer in which he says:

" You are entirely right in what you state concerning my attitude in this matter. Anything I can do for that race, I shall be glad to do. I can never forget that my Savior was himself a Jew, and the suffering of these people in their years of wandering and persecution is tragic".

Cordially yours,

*Facsimile of Governor Hyde's Letter Introducing Senator Spencer as an Element of Intense Activity.*

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION



GOVERNOR SAMUEL R. McKELVIE  
"A Quick-Grasping Statesman Advocating a National Homeland  
for the Jewish People in Palestine."

# THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

SAMUEL R MC KELVIE  
GOVERNOR



State of Nebraska

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

Lincoln September Twenty-nine  
1 9 2 1

Rabbi Simon Glazier,  
United Synagogue of Greater Kansas City,  
Kansas City, Missouri.

Reverend Sir -

I am enclosing copy of letter that  
I have just written to Senators Hitchcock and  
Norris of Nebraska.

Very truly yours

SRM/N

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Samuel R. McKelvie".

Governor.

*Facsimile of Copy of Governor McKelvie's Letter to the  
Nebraska Senators, Who Were of Material Help.*



## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

C O P Y

September Twenty-nine

1            9            2            1

I have just had a call from Rabbi Simon Glazier of the United Synagogues of Greater Kansas City, regarding the ambitions of the Jewish people for a National Home or Homeland in Palestine.

Recognizing the need of the several million Jewish people for a Homeland of their own, I desire to express my sympathy with their cause, and I hope that the United States Senate may, by resolution, give endorsement to this movement insofar as it is in harmony with the obligations and purposes of the Department of State of the United States.

I shall appreciate any interest that you may show in this matter.

Very truly yours,

SRM/N

Governor.

*Facsimile Copy of Governor McKelvie's Letter Manifesting Sincere Action.*

# THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

EXECUTIVE OFFICE  
DES MOINES, IOWA

November 13, 1908.

My dear Rabbi.

I have your letter of the 6th instant, and I beg to assure you that it gave me as much gratification as any one of the many letters I have received relating to the recent primary election. I have had the generous support of the Jewish people from the beginning, and I am very grateful to them for their confidence. I intend to do what I can in the direction you suggest. I have no patience with the intolerance that exists in some parts of our country, and the injustice that prevails in many of the foreign countries. Do not hesitate to communicate with me when I reach Washington, and I will give all the influence I have toward the enactment of such a law as you suggest, and more than that, to any other law that will insure impartial civic treatment in every part of the world toward the Jewish race.

With high regard, I am,

Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Albert B. Cummins". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, prominent initial "A".

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
Montreal,  
Quebec.

*Facsimile Letter of One of America's Greatest Statesmen. Senator Cummins Received Mr. Sokolow and the Interview Was of Far-reaching Importance.*

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION



SENATOR SELDEN P. SPENCER

"The people of Israel will get Palestine with or without the consent of our State Department" Senator Spencer to Under-Secretary of State Henry P. Fletcher, Tuesday, November 22, 1921.

# THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

CHARLES CURTIS KANSAS  
CHAIRMAN  
F. A. CROSBLEY CLERK

## United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

September 13, 1921.

My dear Governor

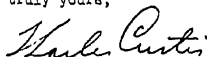
I have your letter of recent date and note what you say in reference to your interview with Rabbi Simon Glazer of the United Synagogues of Greater Kansas City.

If he would send copy of the resolution desired by himself and his people, I would gladly go over it and take the matter up with the State Department, and if they saw no complications I would be pleased to introduce it.

However, I want to be certain that no complications would arise because it would be unfortunate to have anything happen just at this time. Personally, my sympathies are with the Jewish people, and I would like to see them establish a national homeland in Palestine.

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,



Honorable H. J. Allen,  
Executive Department,  
Topeka, Kansas.

*Facsimile of Senator Curtis' Letter to Governor Allen—  
the First Direct Mention of the Palestine Resolution.*

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION



SENATOR CHARLES CURTIS  
"The Champion of Israel."

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES	
RECEIVED AT MAIN OFFICE POSTAL TELEGRAPH BUILDING 8 N. 5th St. and Delaware St. KANSAS CITY, MO. TELEPHONE ) MAIN 1791 ) BROADWAY 242	DELIVERY NO. <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 30px; vertical-align: middle;"></span>
The Postal Telegraph-Cable Company (Incorporated) transmits and delivers this message subject to the terms and conditions printed on the back of this Mark.	
<small>This is a Paid Telegram unless otherwise indicated by signal after the number of words-- <i>100</i> (Day Letter) <i>20</i> (Night Letter) <i>10</i> (Night Telegram)</small>	
<small>STANDARD TIME INDICATED ON THIS MESSAGE.</small>	

B3GCHU 458PM 12 GOVT

ST WASHINGTON DC NOV 14 21

RAHBI SIMON GLAZER

RAHBI UNITED SYNAGOGUES OF GREATER KANSASCITY

KANSASCITY MO.

PRESIDENT HARDING WILL SPE YOU FRIDAY MORNING THIS WEEK AT

TEN THIRTY

CHARLES CURTIS

*Facsimile of Telegram Which Brought About America's  
Direct Help and Removed All Complications.*

# THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

PHILANDER C. KNOX PA. CHAIRMAN  
ERUTE NELSON RIAR  
CHARLES CURTIS KANS  
FREDERICK HALLS IRE  
GEORGE H. HODGE W. H.  
NEDRA L. MCDONALD ILL  
JAMES E. WATSON IND  
WARREN F. MARTIN OREG  
LEX S. OVERMAN N. D.  
ROBERT L. SMITH DELA  
OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD ALA  
BYRON P. HARRISON MISS  
JOE T. RUMFORD ARK

## United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON RULES

November 17, 1921.

My dear Mr. President:

This will introduce to you Rabbi Simon Glazer, of Kansas City, Mo., to whom you agreed to give an interview at 10:30, Friday morning, November 18th.

I take great pleasure in recommending the Rabbi to you and trust you will give him a full and complete hearing.

Yours, very truly,

*Charles Curtis*

To The President,  
Washington, D.C.

*Facsimile of Letter Which Moved the Heart and Soul of  
President Harding.*

# THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

LEE S. OVERMAN H. I. CHAIRMAN  
JOHN SHARP W. LILAND MISS. FR. M. J. S. HOFFER N. WYO.  
ROSE SMITH GA. AN. T. HELLER N. W. VA.  
ROBERT L. OWEN IOWA ALBERT B. L. SMITH N. W. VA.  
ORANGE W. UNDERHILL ALA. PH. LINDER L. N. W. VA.  
CLAUDE A. SWANSON VA. CHARLES LUTIN N. W. VA.  
PETER D. GERRY N. Y.  
CHARLES H. MARTIN CALIF.

## United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON RULES

December 14, 1921.

My dear Glazer

Your wire of recent date came duly to hand and I note what you say about N. Sokolow.

I assure you it will give me great pleasure to see Mr. Sokolow if it is possible while he is in Washington. Senator Lodge is busy with the Conference and I am so busy with work in the Senate, where I must be all the time, that it is almost impossible to make appointments to see any one during the sessions. A Committee called upon me yesterday and told them that I would see Mr. Sokolow as soon as possible.

With compliments of the season,

I am,

Very truly yours,



Simon Glazer,

Rabbi, United Synagogues of Greater  
Kansas City,

Kansas City, Missouri.

*Facsimile of Senator Curtis' Letter Which is Both  
Historic and Interesting.*



PHILANDER C KNOX PA ORAWMAN  
NITE HELM N MIRM  
HARLES FLITIN VARS  
REMYN NASE ME  
GEORGE H MYER N H  
EDILL M IIMMICK ILL  
AME L MATHSON IND  
LEED OVERMAN N D  
ROBERT L OWEN INLA  
OMAR W UNDERSHOT ALA  
STROMER HA KEIN MISS  
AET T ROBIN UN ARK  
CAROLINE MARLIN LEBBE

## COMMITTEE ON RULES

My dear Glazer

I assure you I have read it with great interest, and further assure you it was a pleasure to be of assistance to you and to Mr. Nuhum Sokolow.

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,

Charles Curtis

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
Rabbi of United Synagogues,  
Kansas City, Missouri

*Facsimile of Senator Curtis' Letter Which Uncovers  
Much of What Was Done to Clear the Way for Final  
Action.*

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

(NAME) CURTIS NAME CHAIRMAN

WHEATFIELD M. M. M.	LEE D. L. L. L.
FRANKLIN M. M. M.	ROBERT L. L. L.
LEE J. J. J. J.	1: A. W. W. W. W.
WILLIE M. M. M. M.	W. H. H. H. H.
JAMES W. W. W. W.	W. H. H. H. H.
M. M. M. M. M. M.	W. H. H. H. H.

F. A. A. A. A.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON RULES

April 20, 1922.

My dear Rabbi Glazer.

I have your wire and note what you say in regard to the Lodge resolution. I will gladly present your wire to Senator Lodge and will again urge him to ask for early action upon his resolution. I have already spoken to him in regard to it.

You may rest assured it will give me pleasure to do all I can in securing early action.

With kindest regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

Yours truly,  
*Harold Curtis*

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
United Synagogues,  
Greater Kansas City, Mo.

*Facsimile of Senator Curtis' Letter Which Reveals the  
Most Noble Character in the United States Senate.*

# THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	—
Day Letter	—
Night Message	—
Night Letter	—

It none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Other marks or characters are indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

**WESTERN UNION**  
  
**TELEGRAM**

NEWCOMB CARLTON PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. ATKINS FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	—
Day Letter	—
Night Message	—
Night Letter	—

It none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Other marks or characters are indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

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1921 NOV 17 PM 5 50

RABBI SIMON GLAZER

WASHINGTON HOTEL WASHINGTON DC

LIPSKY COMMUNICATED WITH NEWYORK TO HAVE SOME ONE MEET YOU

REGRET INABILITY TO JOIN YOU GODS SPEED

MAX S-TULMAN.

*Facsimile of Telegram Showing Interest of Zionist Organization of America in the Palestine Resolution.*

296NYBF1H

BY NEWYORK NOV 18 71

RABBI SIMON GLAZER CO OF HOTEL WASHIN

NASHN DC

LEADER WILL JOIN YOU IN UNOFFICIAL MEETING WITH OTHER GENTLEMEN ON

SATURDAY MORNING STOP SEE GOLDBERG GOOD WISHES

HENRY J DANFELBAUM

2P

[27]

# THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	---
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Other words in character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

## WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. AYERS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	---
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Other words in character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

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RABBI SIMON GLAZER

812 MASSACHUSETTS BLDG KANSASCITY MO

CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU UPON SUCCESS OF SENATE RESOLUTION WHICH  
MAKES INEVITABLE ADOPTION BY HOUSE AND SIGNATURE BY PRESIDENT

LOUIS LIPSKY

*Facsimile of a Telegram Giving Color to the Lipsky  
Efficiency.*

ההסתדרות הציונית בארצות הברית  
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

TELEPHONE  
STUMVESANT 8140

ההסתדרות הצ'ונג אן של ארצות הברית

55 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

## NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

[illegible]

Rebba Simon Glazer,  
United Synagogue,  
811-814 Massachusetts Bldg.,  
Kansas City, Mo.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of December 29th which is being carefully followed up. I understand that Mr. Sokolow is to be in Washington sometime this week.

Thanking you very much for keeping us promptly informed of all developments, I am

Very cordially yours,

Four days

General Secretary.

LL/LM

*Facsimile of Letter Manifesting the Spirit of  
Co-operation.*

## ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

TELEPHONE  
JULY 1940

55 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

[illegible]

Fabti Simon Glazer,  
612-614 Mann. Bldg.,  
Kansas City, Mo.

I want to express my thanks to you for  
of the document sent now and to a  
appreciation of all the good work that  
one.

Very cordially yours,

from his

General Secretary.

*Facsimile of Letter Which Implies Favorable Opinion  
to the Plan of a Palestine Resolution.*

# THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

CABLE ADDRESS  
ZIONISTS  
BEATLEY'S CODE

התאחדות הציונים של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE  
HERMAN CONHEIM  
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG  
LOUIS ROSESON  
BERNARD A. ROSENBLATT  
MORRIS ROSENBERG  
PETER J. SCHWEITZER  
TREASURER  
LOUIS LIPSHY  
GENERAL SECRETARY

55 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

October 28, 1921.

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
2732 Harrison Street,  
Kansas City, Mo.

My dear Rabbi.

I appreciate highly your letter of the 23rd,  
and especially the spirit of service which it indicated.

I hope it will be possible shortly to meet  
you in Washington or in New York. There is hardly a  
possibility of any one of us going so far as Topeka.

With best wishes for the New Year, I am

Very cordially yours,

General Secretary.

LL:FF

*Facsimile of Letter Which Shows that Zionist Administrative Committee Knew of Every Move Made in the Great Effort to Clear the Way for a Palestine Resolution.*



# THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

CABLE ADDRESS  
KERJESSOD

TELEPHONES  
STUYVESANT 8787  
10747

קרן היסוד

## KEREN HAYESOD

(PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND)

HEADQUARTERS FOR THE UNITED STATES

30 UNION SQUARE

NEW YORK December 4, 1921

### PROVISIONAL ORGANIZATION

#### ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

RABBI MEYER BERLIN  
NATHAN CHASAN  
HERMANN LONHEIM  
TREASURER  
BORIS GRABELSKY  
JACOB ISH KISHOR  
LOUIS LIPSKY  
EMANUEL NEUMANN  
SECRETARY  
PETER J. SCHWEITZER  
E. SIEGEL  
DR. MEYER WAXMAN  
BARUCH ZUCKERMAN

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
2782 Harrison Street  
Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Rabbi Glazer:

I thank you most cordially for your telegram and I am looking forward to receiving your news about the development in your work

Please keep me informed of your correspondence with the friends of our cause.

Cordially yours



#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SENIOR ABEL  
ISAAC ALLEN  
SHOLOM ASCH  
HON. JOSEPH BARGHOENE  
DR. J. I. BLUESTONE  
YENQASH BLOOMGARDEN  
EPHRAIM CAPLAN  
H. DANIELSON  
H. EHRENDREICH  
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG  
ISRAEL GOLDBERG  
H. GOODMAN  
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SOLOMON J. WEINSTEIN

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PRES. OF EXECUTIVE BOARD  
DR. JOSEPH JASIN  
ORGANIZATION SECRETARY  
C. S. BROTHMAN,  
FIELD SECRETARY

*Facsimile of a Letter Manifesting Mr. Sokolow's  
Interest in the Palestine Resolution.*

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

### INTRODUCTION

The background upon which the greatest political movement in the history of the Jewish people in Diaspora had its development was all but encouraging to its sponsor. A people peeled and scattered into myriads of fragments, claiming every country as its homeland and repudiated by all countries; speaking every language, save its own, with native fluency, and as freely mocked at in all tongues; enriching many lands by its thrift and skill, and as grossly denounced as parasitic; forever knocking at the gates of every port of entry, pleading for admission, and ever being refused; daily praying and yearning for peace, and periodically whirled into a turmoil of war; constantly carrying the commandments of God from people to people, and as frequently rejected as carriers of calamity; witnessing the rise and fall of every tyrant; suffering the unsparing ferocity of the mob and the systematic cruelty of the polished anti-Semite; feeling the sting of the Russian knout and the stigma of the German cry of "hep! hep!;" enduring the unrighteous barbarism of the Moslem and the unholy echoes of medieval superstition; facing the day with a

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

pang of hunger and the night with the pain of expected terror—such was the position of Israel among the nations when Dr. Theodore Herzl commenced to dream his dream about a Judenstaat.

In all the centuries of exile, never for a moment have the Jews forgotten their age-old hope to be reestablished in Palestine and to rejoin the family of nations. This hope was considered by them and to them the greatest part of their own secret of immortality and indestructibility, the greatest part of their own mission as the chosen people of Jehovah. During the darkest moments of their bloodstained career in Diaspora, they were comforted by the memory of the cherished expectation of the Messiah, who would carry them across space into Palestine. Almighty Himself deeded Canaan to the fathers of His chosen people. Such a belief, neither streams of blood, oceans of tears nor all waters under the sun can either drown, blot out or carry away to the bottomless abyss of oblivion.

Part of the Jewish people, however, as a result of endless persecutions, had already become reconciled to their newly-acquired belief in assimilation, thereby forcing upon themselves, and trying to impose upon others, the idea that by drifting away far enough from the centrif-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

ugal of Israel's ancient hope, the process of assimilation could be made easier and thus solve the perplexing problem painlessly.

Herzl himself, as he admits in his "Memoirs," for a time at least, considered a similar solution to the Jewish problem. But meeting with one disappointment after another, even in the attempt to make an inglorious surrender, the poison itself became an antidote. It set him thinking, dreaming, until what appeared even to himself as Utopian was born in his mind.

The proletarian masses in the large industrial cities, both in Europe and in America, had already advanced far enough in their several radical cults to attribute all evil, including the Jewish sufferings, to the universal bad system of government, to the wholesale exploitation of labor and to the ruling classes which were drawn upon exclusively from among non-producers. They therefore did not, and would not, consider the Jewish question apart from the general question of the international proletariat. To all of these elements the possibility of recasting the Jewish people into a political entity appeared incomprehensible.

Herzl not having appeared either as a Messiah or as a wonder-working mystic, the Ghetto Jew could not and did not know how to receive him. The Ghetto dwellers were amazed,

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

shocked, feverish, distrustful, militant.

Psychologically, Herzl knew the Jewish people better than any other Jewish leader in the entire history of the Diaspora. He realized that the Jewish people as a whole cannot and will not remain indifferent at the mention of Zion. Undismayed, undaunted, refusing even to procrastinate in order to interest the indifferent, he proceeded to draw a fully developed sketch of his dream, and exclaimed to his people through their representatives at the first Basle Congress: *"If you will, it will not be a dream!"*

When Herzl came, there was already quite an audience of "Lovers of Zion" whom to address. He had a number of predecessors who did some pioneer Zionist work throughout the nineteenth century. Rabbi Zebi Hirsch Kalischer, Moses Hess, David Gordon, Abraham Petavel, Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer, Heinrich Graetz, Lev Semionovich Pinsker, Joseph Salvador, Lazar Levy-Bing, J. Frankel, Moritz Steinschneider, Rabbi Judah Alkali, Charles Netter, Samuel David Luzzatto, Sir Moses Montefiore, Adolph Cremieux, Gustave Cohen, Moses Leib Lilienblum, Perez Smolenskin, Lev Osipovitch Levanda, Emma Lazarus, Hermann Schapira, Kalonymus Wissotsky, Ben Yehudah, and Isaac Rulf are the outstanding Jewish names; Grace-Angular (George Eliot), Hollingsworth, Warden

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Cresson (M. C. Boaz Israel, American Consul in Jerusalem), Henry Dunant, Benedetto Musolino and Laurence Oliphant are among the non-Jewish friends who were the forerunners of modern Zionism, and who, by their self-sacrificing work, had already, in a measure, paved the way for him.

After the fourth Zionist Congress, Herzl commenced to feel the strength of the opposition. There were four hostile camps arrayed against him: (a) Ultra-Orthodox; (b) Assimilationists; (c) Kultur-Zionismus; (d) Territorialists.

(A) Herzl, up to a year or two before the idea of a Judenstaat came to him, lived in a West-European atmosphere. He was forced to his Zionist conclusions by external anti-Semitic influences. He did not even for a moment consider the idea of appearing in the East-European Ghettos as a kind of Messiah. He made no divine pretenses whatsoever. The entire structure of his plan was based solely upon sound political doctrines. He realized that he was on holy grounds and respected it. He knew that the souls of his people were connected to Palestine with the most sacred ties. He felt that by offering to them better material conditions they would be able to transplant everything that is spiritual, with very little effort, in the land of their fathers, where their sacred history was written.

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In this, Herzl misjudged the temper of the East-European Ghetto Jews, particularly the majority of the ultra-Orthodox Rabbis. The latter, mindful of the harm pseudo-Messiahism had left in its wake, particularly the appearance of Shabethai Zebi (1626-1676), could not at all conceive the idea of a political Jewish state in Palestine without the direct help of God. In a measure, that sentiment still prevails even to this day in many ultra-Orthodox quarters.

Thus, the ultra-Orthodox element claimed a twofold reason why Zionism should be opposed: (1) A return to Zion without a Messiah; (2) West-European ideas, lest it brings actual assimilation.

(B) The West-European and American Reform Rabbis, having the instruments of a modern press and pulpit at their command, used them with religious zeal against Herzl. In 1869, the late Rabbi Einhorn called together a conference of Reform Rabbis at Philadelphia, where the principles of Reform Judaism were promulgated and accepted. Paragraphs (1) and (2) of the Philadelphia platform read as follows:

“(1) Israel’s Messianic goal is not the restoration of a Jewish state and its seclusion from other nations, but the reunion of all peoples in

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the knowledge of the one Supreme God, the unification of all mankind and their elevation to purity and holiness.

(2) The destruction of Israel's independence is not to be considered as the punishment for Israel's sinfulness, but as the fulfillment of the Divine purpose in sending Israel forth into the world upon the priestly mission to lead men to a correct knowledge of God and to the performance of His will."

The West-European Jews have perhaps not wandered so far afield, insofar as the actual principles of Judaism were concerned; but when it came to the doctrine of assimilation, they have excelled their American Reform brethren manifold. Herzl was looked upon as a menace, a stumbling-block to their goal. In many Reform quarters, it was openly stated that Zionism invites anti-Semitism. To them it was a rude awakening by an intruder in the stillness of night. The sugar-coated pill of assimilation had worked for more than four generations painlessly, and here comes a doctor subscribing an antidote which would open the old sores and bring on the old laboring pains. Above all, they feared political Zionism. During the last decade, many of them have gone so far as to favor some colonization scheme which they would aid on philanthropic grounds; but



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insofar as the realization of Zionism into a political state is concerned, Reform Jewry continues to this day to oppose it. Their protest was at Versailles; their protest was at the time the Palestine resolution was brought in the United States Congress. Herzl had to withstand their powerful attacks from the very moment his idea became known.

(C) After the fourth Zionist Congress, the question of Kultur-Zionismus became very acute. Many of Herzl's followers, particularly in Germany, Austria-Hungary and France, advocated to bring in West-European ideas and system of education throughout the East-European Ghettos. A majority of the latter regarded Kultur-Zionismus as connoting anti-Jewish and anti-religious principles.

In his opening address at the first Basle Congress, Herzl said: "We have no thought of giving up even one foot of the Kultur that we have acquired; on the contrary, we wish to broaden that Kultur."

The second Basle Congress adopted the following resolution: "Zionism seeks not only the economic and political, but also the spiritual rebirth of the Jewish people, and must ever remain upon the stand of modern Kultur whose achievements it highly values."

At the third Congress, Dr. Herzl stated:

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“We desire to lift ourselves up to a higher moral plain, to open up new means of communication between nations and prepare the way for social justice. Just as the poet weaves songs out of his own pain, so shall we prepare from out of our own suffering the advancement of mankind, in whose service we are.”

Nevertheless, the Kultur-Frage worried Dr. Herzl perhaps more than many other objections raised against Zionism in East and Southeast Europe. At the fifth Congress, the ambition of political Zionism to promote Kultur amongst the Jewish people in Diaspora was made part of the Zionist program. The Kultur-Frage was used as a weapon against Zionism, even in Reform circles. They looked upon Zionism generally as a reaction, not only from a theological point of view, as they saw it, but from the standpoint of general culture as well. The Reform Rabbis on December 31, 1898, during their conference at Richmond, Va., declared themselves opposed to the whole Zionist movement on the ground “that America was the Jews’ Jerusalem and Washington their Zion.” Reformers opposed it on the ground that there is no such thing, and there can be no such thing, as a distinct Jewish Kultur. The Orthodox element in

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opposition to Zionism saw in it an opening for the admission of assimilation as part of the Jewish aspirations which, of course, is contrary to the anticipated goal of the people of Israel.

(D) The economic and social opposition of the majority of the European Jews became so depressive at the dawn of the twentieth century, that the question of finding a haven of refuge anywhere in the world for the hundreds of thousands of refugees was looked upon with favor by a number of Herzl's followers. The sentimental and historic features in connection with Palestine were insufficient to stay the demands of the territorialist element in Zionism. Jewish immigration to America had increased almost to 150,000 per annum. There was a real exodus from East and Southeast European Ghettos. Just about then the East African proposal came. The entire European Jewry, as it appears, believed in the scheme proposed by Great Britain. Particularly the Roumanian Jews, who at that time were actually men without a country, looked upon the Uganda project as a Godsend solution to their problem. A special warning had to be issued by the Great Actions Committee to the Roumanian Jews not to make the contemplated preparations to emigrate to Uganda.

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At the sixth Congress, held in Basle on August 23-28, 1903, Herzl said: "East Africa is indeed not Zion and can never become it." That Congress was the last one Dr. Herzl attended. During the sessions of the Congress, he had complained that his physical powers were unequal to the task and that an affection of his heart made the great work more difficult than it otherwise would have been.

Meantime, territorialism continued to agitate the minds of the erstwhile supporters of Dr. Herzl. The territorialists themselves abandoned him and some of his former closest friends distrusted him. The project of Uganda having come directly to him from the British government, and from him directly to the members of the Zionist Congress, so influenced many of his erstwhile co-workers, that they actually doubted his integrity and sincerity of purpose and believed until the day of his death that he encouraged territorialism.

This latter fact affected his health more than the entire opposition to his plan. He knew his own sincerity and unbounded love for his people. He also knew that no other territory will ever either support or sustain the Jewish people for any longer period than

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the history of the Diaspora shows. He also knew that the only country which would shelter his homeless people would be Palestine. He never for a moment, ever since he first commenced to dream about his Judenstaat, doubted the practicability of his plan. He knew within his soul, with the wisdom of a prophet, that many of his co-workers would see the realization of his dream. He lifted himself upon such a height, that like unto Moses upon Mount Pisgha he could see the country of his people from afar, and like unto Moses was prevented from entering it.

The intervening years between the death of Herzl and the outbreak of the World War tell the story of Zionism in but one sentence: Propaganda, opposition, hope, courage, disappointment, hope again. The only bright chapter in the whole story of Zionism, since the first Basle Congress, was written in Palestine by the pioneers who turned many a desert into a paradise. The colonists in Palestine have demonstrated to the world that Palestine will yield its fat and fruit to no other than her own people. Every attempt of colonization in Palestine by any other race, even by Germans, was not successful. Miraculously the soil of Palestine yielded to the touch of the Jewish hand. Erstwhile Ghetto

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dwellers, who for centuries had been confined in cities and for more than two thousand years divorced from the plowshare and the pruning hook, the hoe and the ax, the plow and the rake, have come to Palestine and at once commenced to reap harvests in great abundance. The wine and the fig-tree once more became a pleasant place to rest for the Jew. Milk and honey, too, commenced to flow freely, and in but one decade more than twelve thousand Jewish men, women and children for the first time in two thousand years knew the actual meaning of home.

The World War brought about many changes. As a matter of expediency, as well as historic justice, Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration. The European Jewries had been shut up and barred up ever since the outbreak of the war. Moreover, they were all ruined as a result of the war. Most of the West-European countries, too, were ruined. The only Jewries which could take advantage of this generous declaration were the Jews living in the Anglo-Saxon countries, where no Jewish question exists. The old opposition was revived and with more zest, particularly in the camp of American Reform Israel.

Reverend Dr. Stephen S. Wise had a long

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established friendship with former President Woodrow Wilson. This fact improved matters considerably. Wise is an ultra-radical exponent of Reform Judaism, but his connection with Zionism dates back to its very inception, when he was in his early twenties. He had interested Justice Brandeis, Judge Mack and other influential American Jews, all of whom happened to be Democrats. They were quite a family of important men to advise and interest former President Wilson in Zionism. This fact brought about the happy result that the infamous memorandum presented by some fifty-seven American Reform Rabbis and representatives of the Council of Jewish Women, should receive no attention.

The Jewish Congress backed up the work of the Zionists at Versailles. Then came the San Remo decision. Great Britain was given the mandate over Palestine. Next came the pogroms in Jaffa and Jerusalem, the protests from the Arabs and the complications due to the failure of the Wilson policies in the United States Senate.

This last chapter of American political history directly affected the world's Jewry. The American Jews, in view of the fact that the project of the League of Nations fell through

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in the United States Senate, lost faith in the powers of the League of Nations. Without America, to them it was Hamlet with the "Prince of Denmark" left out. The political situation, due to the protest the American State Department entered against all mandates, both in the Near and in the Far East, became critical if not alarming.

The Jewish people were put to the test by Great Britain. Funds were necessary; work had to be commenced. The *Haluzim* immigrated in Palestine and employment for them had to be found. Dr. Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization, came to America. To his despair, he found a very strange spirit greeting him. A change had taken place in the hearts and in the minds of the great leaders of the Zionist Organization of America. They were against *Gegenswartarbeit*; they were for *Gesaefts-Zionismus*. They were against Diaspora nationalism; they were for political Zionism of the West-European color. They believed in corporations, but were against one common fund for all activities, known as the Keren Hayesod.

The Cleveland Convention came. There the issues were joined and the situation cleared. The real question of the hour was not exactly money; it was the political sit-



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uation. The only help possible had to come from America. With all the great leaders removed from Zionist activities, the everyday Zionists knew not how to begin, but the work had to be done.

American statesmen, as the history of America conclusively proves, have ever listened, even from the most humble mouth, to good reasoning and worthy causes. I knew it.

Moreover, the American people as a whole and the American statesmen as individuals do not like timidity, back-door politics, or what we may call in Hebrew, *Stadlonot*. If one has to make a move, the Americans like to see a straightforward, bold and accurate move. The Irish wanted freedom for Ireland. They also wanted the sympathy of the American people. They went for it in the most ordinary manner. A resolution was brought into the United States Senate, expressing the sympathy of America with Ireland. That was indeed a bold move—a resolution on its face contrary to the interests of a friendly nation, but because a small people was struggling against a powerful state, the spirit of fair play and the sympathy for the under-dog prevailed.

This decided me without hesitation to make the most direct move possible; to open the

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question and solve it. A resolution in the House I did not consider at all necessary. The whole matter had to do with the policy of our State Department. The Senate is the co-power with the President in confirming treaties. I therefore concluded that a resolution of sympathy toward the Zionist cause in the United States Senate would show England that America is not at all against Zionism as such; much less against Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people. *On the other hand, America had a direct interest to open new channels for Jewish immigration.*

How the Palestine resolution was initiated and who its real authors and promoters were, is now a matter of history; and in justice to history and truth, a record of the Palestine resolution up until the minute Senator Henry Cabot Lodge introduced it, is outlined in this work.

August 14, 1922. (Ab. 20 5632.)

SIMON GLAZER,  
Rabbi of the United Synagogues  
of Greater Kansas City.



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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION

The issues between the Keren Hayesod and the Mack-Brandeis groups were joined long before the call for the Cleveland Convention was issued. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Dr. Schmarya Levin, Engineer Menahan Mendel Ussischkin and Dr. Ben Zion Mossinsohn were the Big Four of the Keren Hayesod forces. Judge Julian Mack, Professor Felix Frankfurter, Rev. Stephen S. Wise, with Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis in the background, were the Big Four of the then Zionist Administration forces.

On the instruction of Dr. Weizmann, temporary headquarters of the Keren Hayesod, Ltd., were opened at 50 Union Square, New York City. Dr. Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization, temporarily disregarded his exalted office and yielded to the needs of the hour, by visiting various communities in the interests of the Keren Hayesod. The headquarters of the Zionist Organization of America, at 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, had meantime become hopelessly divided. Many of

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the paid executive heads of departments deserted their erstwhile superiors and joined forces with the Keren Hayesod.

The Yiddish press throughout the country emphatically and unequivocally endorsed the stand of Dr. Weizmann and his associates, with the sole exception of the Jewish Daily News, which continued to plead for harmony. The American-Jewish weeklies and kindred periodicals were divided on the question, with an apparent majority in favor of the Mack-Brandeis group.

The masterly handling of the entire situation by Louis Lipsky foredoomed the defeat of the Zionist Administration forces at the Cleveland Convention. Being a veteran of the Zionist movement in America from its very inception, Lipsky got in touch with everyone whom he knew as likely to be in sympathy with the Keren Hayesod. Innocently or deliberately, he judged the temper of every community psychologically correct. He knew beforehand what community would be represented by a Keren Hayesod delegate and what community would endorse the Administration forces. Although a native American, he himself has the aspect of the Weizmann view rather than that of the Brandeis school.

On Friday, June 3, 1921, the early delegates

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were thrilled with the announcement that "Dr. Weizmann has arrived." A moment later a majority of them were chilled with the announcement that "Judge Mack is in the hotel." Despite the thermometer, which registered around ninety, the appearance of any opposition delegate, as the Administration forces became known, had the effect of creating a Coast-of-Labrador-like temperature in the lobby of the hotel. It was a study in American Jewish psychology; it was more than a study in Zionism. Anyone claiming nativity in some West-European country, not to speak of American nativity, was at once classified as a Mack-Brandeis man. Anyone incapable of restraint when he or she wanted to talk, or anyone making inquiry as to where and when one "can get something homey to eat," at once received a hearty handshake with the universal password of "Sholom."

Saturday, June 5th, was spent mainly in listening to or being engaged in a new kind of Zionist homeletics and exegesis.

One outstanding feature will forever remain lingering in my memory. Not one ill expression, even by the most rabid fire-brand among the Keren Hayesod delegates, was uttered against Brandeis. Toward evening I encountered a group of Keren Hayesod delegates. They represented different

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communities—East, West, North and South, and all of them were American citizens. They were denouncing the Administration forces; they were decrying the opposition to the principle of *maaser*, which is a Biblical principle, and therefore, according to them blasphemous to advocate its elimination in connection with the Keren Hayesod. They mentioned names, but during the entire argument the name of Brandeis was mentioned only once, and that with reverence. I wanted to find out the cause. The unanimous reply was: "Brandeis as a Zionist is a failure; but he is a great judge, a member of the greatest juridical tribunal in the world." This answer was convincing to me that when it came to the question of America and Americanism, there was no division. I felt elated to discover this happy situation.

On Saturday night a lineup of forces took place. The late Professor Gothard Deutsch and I were sitting in the lobby, when a breathless delegate invited me to hurry to a conference in this fashion: "I am Chona. I know you are a Yid and you will not disgrace Kansas City by going to the Goishe meeting of Judge Mack. Judge Dannenbaum and Lipsky are to address the Keren Hayesod delegates."

The argument of Chona was not convincing

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to Dr. Deutsch, but it was convincing enough to me, and I went directly to the conference of Judge Mack. But to my great disappointment, I noticed about a dozen or so delegates engaged in a polite conversation with the Judge, which I was disinclined to interrupt.

In the conference room called by Lipsky, I found an assembly of at least three hundred people, mostly delegates, roaring with laughter at the recital, by Judge Dannenbaum, of the proposed "Texas Palestine Refrigerating Plant" under a Delaware charter, as Jacob De Haas sponsored it at Houston, Tex.

My own mind remained open for conviction. Above all, I desired to find out whether the underlying current of the strife was strong on account of principles, or whether the whole situation was created on account of personalities.

The convention was called to order at the ball room of the Cleveland Hotel by Judge Mack. The question of a Chairman of the convention was at once raised. In a moment the words, "Tammany," "police court," and "Free Synagogue," filled the air. Judge Rosenblatt and Stephen Wise had the floor simultaneously. Judge Mack and Judge Dannenbaum were placed in nomination. I did not vote. Dannenbaum was elected chairman by an overwhelm-



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ing majority. Weizmann and his colleagues of the Keren Hayesod Big Four knew that they had conquered the Mack-Brandeis group. Ussischkin, having in the entire history of political Zionism opposed Herzl and everyone who savored with West-European culture, felt elated in his belief that henceforth none but the leaders of the East-European school will dominate the destinies of the new Palestine.

During the night session, Judge Dannenbaum, Chairman of the Convention, surprised me very much by calling upon me to address the convention.

Not having anticipated such a call and realizing that no other Orthodox Rabbi of among the delegates would be called upon to address the convention, my decision was instantaneous.

In the report of the convention an excerpt of my speech appears and is as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I highly appreciate the honor that has been accorded me, and I deem it a privilege to be able to speak to you a few minutes and to reveal to you the thoughts that came into my mind this afternoon, when I saw our great leader sitting on this platform and listening to what has been said.

"Fellow delegates, I know that there are differences, and I give voice to my sentiments

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that insofar as the Keren Hayesod is concerned, I am with you heart and soul. I believe that we must have a common fund to finance the establishment of a national homeland in Palestine. I also believe that now is not the time to count cents and dollars. Now is the time to save precious lives. Now is not the time to take to task our great leaders when confronted by the enemy, and enemies we have from within and without. We do not have to go very far to find the enemies of Israel. I have served for the past twenty-five years the most humble of the American Jewish people. I appeal to you now, in the name of all Rabbis in America, who trust that at this convention we shall not lose a single member of the Zionist Organization of America. Let us see if we cannot establish harmony."

The Jewish Daily News of New York, having been the only newspaper to advocate harmony, featured part of my speech which does not appear in the records of the convention. No motion was made by anyone to have any part of my speech expunged from the records; I therefore cannot account why the meat of my speech was not reported. Moreover, all delegates surely do remember, that when I expressed the sentiment that, "It is my belief and firm conviction that if the Administration,

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now in the minority at this convention, would be given to understand that insofar as America is concerned, the Keren Hayesod can be established on the principle of a 'free-will offering' instead of that of *maaser*, peace could still be obtained and the question of persons could be settled at a round-table circle," all delegates expressed in no mistaken terms their approval of the sentiment.

Of course, I am a firm believer in the principle of the Keren Hayesod; but insofar as the principle of *maaser* as applicable to the Keren Hayesod is concerned, it was not a necessary element for the success of the Keren Hayesod. Experience during the past year has convinced everyone who was interested in raising funds for the Keren Hayesod that the principle of *maaser* can not be followed at all, unless Einstein's theory of relativity was employed.

For example: Mr. Yekel Amronowitz is worth, according to the accredited rating agencies, \$100,000. His net earnings during a given year, according to his books, are approximately \$10,000. His revolving fund, according to his bank statement, is a \$3,000 balance at the end of every month, and \$25,000 to \$28,000 in current assets, most of which is also current liabilities in the form of notes held by his banker. Now comes the Keren Hayesod collector and

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says to him, "Mr. Amronowitz, give us *maaser*. We see that you are worth \$100,000. You therefore owe the Keren Hayesod \$10,000." Mr. Amronowitz is an ardent Zionist, a great believer in the Keren Hayesod, and really anxious to give. His answer will doubtless be that comparatively speaking, or relatively so, he probably has book assets aggregating \$100,000. The best he can do is to show his income tax report. Mr. Amronowitz is a trustworthy citizen, and his attorney told him that he has no right to claim that he is worth \$100,000 merely because his books show it. He has to take in consideration depreciation of values in his rolling stock, fixtures, property, bad debts, contingent claims, and the possible losses due to the unstable character of prices of the merchandise he handles. What he must do in his income tax report is to give his net earnings. Under such circumstances, Mr. Amronowitz thereupon will be asked to give *maaser* from his income which according to his income tax report, should amount to \$1,000. Mr. Amronowitz, still being a Zionist and a patron of the Keren Hayesod, will say in all honesty: "Comparatively speaking I have made last year \$10,000. Relatively so, I had a very good year; but gentlemen, take in consideration all other expenditures that I had incurred during the year, and

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also deduct the necessary living expenses for myself and family, and you will find that my actual surplus amounted to \$1,250." Therefore, at best, if Mr. Amronowitz would contribute to the Keren Hayesod \$125 per annum, barring all accidents to his credit, his net income and his book assets, he still would, relatively speaking, be complying with the principle of *maaser*.

Conversely, if the Keren Hayesod collector would go to Mr. Amronowitz and say to him: "Mr. Amronowitz, you are a Zionist and a believer in the Keren Hayesod; give us a free-will offering to the full extent of your ability. We have no other means of persuasion save only that of an appeal to your own conscience," the result would perhaps be double the amount or more. Anyone experienced in the psychology of the average Jewish citizen will agree with the latter view.

As the convention proceeded to the business of the day, it became clear to me that back of the whole strife was the underlying desire for a change in leadership in American Zionism. The delegates, by their repeated action in supporting the anti-Administrative forces with overwhelming majorities upon every question, manifested that leadership in American Israel can never be wrested from the Jewish masses, nor ever sustained contrary to their expressed will.

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Of course, the position of Weizmann was more advantageous than that of Brandeis. Weizmann is himself a product of eastern Europe, who received the finishing touches of his culture in a west-European environment. His earnestness, his divine art of making appeals, and his dignified attitude toward his opponents won for him the battle before the convention was twenty-four hours old. He was the accused, with the real accuser (Brandeis) not being there in person, but represented by proxy. Mack, Frankfurter, Wise, De Haas and the lesser lights could not measure up to or attain the height of Weizmann.

Technical questions, such as co-mingling of funds, extravagant salaries, Palestinian malaria, Jabotinsky's brand of fire, Simon and De Lieme's action at the London Conference in 1920, Diaspora nationalism, *Gegenswartarbeit* Keren Hayesod dividends in its relation to American income tax, or *Geschaeftszionismus*, might be facts to be dealt with by Professor Frankfurter, who has a way of desiring "facts and facts only"; but the majority of the delegates, and, as I was sincerely convinced, the majority of the Jewish people, are mainly interested in one fact: the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

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Ussischkin has sinned more than in having co-mingled the various Zionist funds in his capacity as head of the Zionist Administration in Palestine. He caused Dr. Herzl much worry. He always maintained that he was a *practical* Zionist. No greater *dreamer* stood before the convention than he. Being of a temperament the like of which no other Zionist leader possesses, he could not conceive how one could think in terms of method and efficiency. He therefore, follows the inclination of his own philosophy; thus when he dreams of something to be attained, he employs direct action, and breaks every knot. Such things as systematic bookkeeping, principles of economy, method of procedure, division of authority or separation of funds, do not at all exist there. Despite everything impractical he does, one must agree with him when it comes to results. He purchased the land in the Vale of Jezrael, and permitted the whole Zionist Organization of the World to argue out the technical points after the purchase was made.

Zionism is not a case to be tried out by lawyers and obtain either a conviction or an acquittal on technical grounds. Perhaps the punishment inflicted upon the erstwhile leaders of the Administration was too severe. I stand on record as having voted for the administering

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of that rebuke, not because I believed that everything Weizmann and his associates did was right and everything Brandeis and his associates did was wrong, but merely as a principle to be emulated in Jewish history, whenever and wherever great leaders will commence to believe that the Jewish people could not and would not get along without them.

I saw before me a terrible battlefield strewn with bodies of countless victims of war, pogroms, massacres and mob violence. I saw before me a vast desert filled with countless men and women, terror upon their faces, living in the shadow of death, their hands stretched out heavenward in an appeal to God to help them. And I saw great men, sitting in judgment upon the fate of these countless victims. Months are being spent in dragging out arguments in order to make a case against some other great men who are likewise sitting in judgment to decide the fate of those victims. Instead of hearing words of comfort, solace and cheer, I saw stern faces and heard powerful voices proclaiming, "Unless we have our own way we shall not continue to do those great things we are able to do nor lift a finger in an effort to help those victims any further." There and then I became as hardened as one of the cedars of Lebanon, and felt within my



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heart of hearts that if there is any punishment to be visited upon the heads of such leaders, now is the time, and forever may they lose leadership in Israel unless they repent.

The Balfour Declaration had originally been framed with the second half of that famous declaration reading after the word "enjoyed": "in any other country by such Jews who are fully contented with their existing nationality and citizenship." Such an insertion in the Balfour Declaration would have created extraordinary antagonism against Zionism on the part of Jewish citizens in countries where they enjoy full civic rights. The Declaration as framed, with that clause in it, was cabled to America and amended in its present form at the suggestion of Jacob De Haas.

Dr. Weizmann in his speech before the Convention had failed to acknowledge that service rendered by the American Zionist Organization. Judge Mack, at the last hours of the convention, after he had already tendered his own resignation along with the resignations of all the erstwhile leaders, wired to him protesting the omission, just as if the convention had been called together for the purpose of complimenting this or that leader for work done, or for services rendered.

The political work accomplished in America

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for the Zionist cause must not and cannot be underestimated. The man that actually did the work is no other than Stephen S. Wise. Through a long acquaintance with former President Woodrow Wilson, he was able to make clear to him the Zionist aspirations. Of course, the presence of Brandeis in the councils of the Zionist Administration of America added to the movement much prestige; but to withhold such prestige at a critical time on account of technicalities, even if such technicalities are essential to the temporary local administration of affairs by the World Zionist Organization, was nothing short of a gross error, fit only for great minds. Only the great can make such great mistakes.

When Judge Mack read to the convention the letter of resignation from Justice Brandeis, and tendered the resignations of Felix Frankfurter, Stephen Wise, Jacob De Haas and other Zionist veterans, the feelings of the delegates were such that many were overcome and wept openly. I confess that at that moment I was not at all weak. I could not see it that way. Like others, I felt that the political situation, because of the withdrawal of so many great American Jews from Zionist activities, would be very much aggravated; but I also felt within my soul that American statesmen, in a real great ques-

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tion, such as would touch the foreign relations between this and other countries, would never do anything because this or that great person desired it. Conversely, if the cause itself be just, and I knew all my life that the Zionist cause is just, the American statesmen would listen to the most humble Jewish citizen with the same attentive ears as they would to the greatest Jew living.

I also was reminded of what American statesmen had accomplished for other oppressed nationalities, particularly that of Ireland. I at once felt relieved and knew that the only solution to the problem politically was to make the boldest move possible. I knew that action by the State Department is a slow process. I determined to get direct action. The only direct action possible was a resolution favoring Palestine as the national homeland of the Jewish people in the United States Senate.

Addressing the mass meeting at the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce I concluded by saying that, "with a just cause half of the battle is won, and with united efforts the other half will be much easier."

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

### CHAPTER II.

#### SOUTHWESTERN KEREN HAYESOD CONFERENCE

The most practical resolutions adopted at the Cleveland convention are Paragraphs V, VI and VIII, as reported by the Zionist organization of America (1921 Cleveland Convention).

#### PARAGRAPH V.

"The Twenty-fourth annual Zionist convention resolves, that, The Keren Hayesod, while remaining under the control of the World Zionist organization, shall be so constituted that it shall function here in America as a democratic agency, and that, with that end in view, provisions shall be made for the participation in the management of the Keren Hayesod bureau by all Jewish groups, parties and organizations desirous of co-operating in the work."

#### PARAGRAPH VI.

"Whereas, the resolutions adopted at the London convention specifically provide that 'at least twenty per cent of the funds collected by the Keren Hayesod shall be given to the Jewish National Fund,' and 'of the further funds col

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lected not more than one-third shall be spent in current expenditures for education, social welfare, immigration and philanthropic purposes in Palestine for the building up of the Jewish national home, while at least two-thirds are to be invested in permanent national institutions or economic undertakings,' and 'that the holders of certificates will participate in the administration of the fund and in the revenue of the economic undertakings established by the fund,' and

"Whereas, the Jews of America, may, and should, in view of their relative economic position, be expected to forego any gains or emoluments that may be derived from the economic undertakings of the Keren Hayesod."

"We call upon and urge all Jewish contributors to the Keren Hayesod to designate their contributions as *free-offerings*, assigning to the World Zionist Organization, any and all of their property rights in the Keren Hayesod, reserving to themselves all other rights as members."

"And we direct the incoming executive committee of the Zionist Organization of America, to take the necessary steps to carry out the purpose of this resolution."

### PARAGRAPH VIII.

"The Convention declares that, in the inter-

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est of the cause, it is essential that the controversy over the Keren Hayesod in this country publicly engaged in by opposing groups within the Zionist Organization of America shall forthwith come to an end. The resolutions of the Keren Hayesod as adopted in this convention call for the immediate, complete and unstinted co-operation on the part of all Zionists, regardless of their views as individuals, so that the constructive work in Palestine may suffer no further delay, and we affirm our deep conviction that the example set by the members of the Zionist Organization of America, in giving their whole-hearted support to the Keren Hayesod will be followed by the Jews of America at large, and that through the Keren Hayesod, the Jews of this country will make their maximum contribution for the upbuilding of Erez Ysroel."

In these resolutions I discovered a sincere desire on behalf of the incoming Administration to eliminate controversy and strife and to have all factions united for the Keren Hayesod. Moreover, from them three far-reaching principles evolved: (a) Suffrage on a democratic basis, by permitting direct participation of all groups as such, in the work of the Keren Hayesod; (b) "*Free Offering*" rather than investment for American Israel

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can be interpreted to mean only as an invitation to non-Zionist elements who are inclined to help on philanthropic grounds; (c) by the positive declaration that "all strife shall come to an end," the incoming Administration permanently established the principle of majority rule, regardless of what persons the minority may be composed of.

Convinced that unless the masses of all groups be reached, the whole scheme of the Keren Hayesod in America, complicated as it was from its very inception, would be an inglorious failure; and although the resolution called for co-operation of all groups, which in itself would justify the calling of conferences even of non-Zionist elements for the purpose of assisting the Keren Hayesod without asking further authority, I, nevertheless, consulted, first Dr. Weizmann, and then several members of the newly elected Administrative committee, principally Lipsky, Conheim and Goldberg, as to the advisability of calling a conference of Jewish representatives of various organizations in the states of Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and Oklahoma.

In this connection, it is necessary to point out that on May 27, 1921, in a letter to Louis Lipsky I proposed a conference of the executives of the several Zionist districts

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within those five states. I then considered, that in view of the differences within the Zionist Organization of America, every district should be prepared for any and all eventualities.

When I requested the newly-elected Administrative committee to authorize a Southwestern Keren Hayesod conference, only two persons within the Zionist ranks knew part of the real motive behind the plan. One was Weizmann. After I had addressed the second session of the convention, Weizmann invited me to meet with him later that night. I anticipated something significant, as the invitation from Weizmann came at the suggestion, I think, of Ussischkin.

Dr. Weizmann's most telling statement to me was, that back of this anxiety for funds was a political reason. "Great Britain had to be shown the good faith of the Jewish people. Such good faith can be manifested only by commencing earnestly to construct and settle Palestine with Jewish money and men. The fact that funds are coming in so slow, and in such small sums, created a critical situation politically."

The idea to make the boldest move possible, in order to eliminate all fear from the political horizon, came to me at that moment. I knew that Dr. Weizmann would have rejected the whole plan, in fact would have stopped me at once from



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even imparting the plan to anyone in the world, for he continued to express fear of complications and misinterpretations in any statement or act of any delegate at the convention. His attack on Stephen Wise in his speech before the sixth session of the convention, was based upon a statement made by Wise that "we do not want Palestine as a British Crown colony." I therefore decided to merely state to Weizmann that the American Southwest may, sometime in the future, be of some help politically to our cause, as there is absolutely no anti-Semitism in the minds of any statesmen elected by the southwestern people to represent them, either locally or nationally.

To initiate such preliminaries which may bring effective political results, I pointed out to him, it was necessary to interest the Southwestern Jews themselves in Zionism generally and in the work of the Keren Hayesod in particular. To obtain such ends a conference in the southwest should be called. Dr. Weizmann endorsed the idea enthusiastically.

To my friend, Max Shulman of Chicago I revealed much more of the plan. He promised to attend the conference and assist in the work.

Upon my return to Kansas City I encountered the universal difficulty of interesting a large number of people in a work which up till

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that time was conducted by a limited number of people who had not the least inclination to either enlarge the number of representatives in their councils or extend the scope of representation from outside quarters. Hardly a synagogue, as such, had ever taken part in Zionist work in America. This was not the fault of the synagogues but of the leaders of Zionism generally, who evidently were disinclined to permit any outside influence to shade Zionism with possible non-Zionist colors.

The Mizrachi was founded by the late Rabbi Jacob Reines and his associates with a view of bringing Zionism into the synagogues. The Mizrachi in America, however, endeavored during the few years of its activity to bring the synagogues into the Zionist organization. By reversing this principle the Mizrachi here failed even after it attempted to bring Zionism into the synagogue. It is amazing to learn that in spite of the fact that the greatest majority of the American Jews are whole-heartedly behind the Zionist cause, the total membership of all Zionist groups in this country is less than 100,000 out of a Jewish population of approximately 3,000,000. Back of this lamentable fact lies the indifferent attitude of some of the former leaders of American Zionists towards the synagogues as such. Jacob de Haas is an example

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of one of the arch-instigators of the movement to keep the religious elements out of the Zionist movement. Whether or not he had the sanction of the leaders higher up is problematical. The fact remains that the Mizrachi organization was practically thrown out of the Zionist Organization of America and forced to carry on the work of propaganda and the work of collecting funds for its own maintenance at the same time.

Analyzing the situation with particular reference to conditions here in the southwest, and being mindful of the Keren Hayesod resolutions as passed at Cleveland, I was forced to issue a call for what may be designated as a compromise conference. The conference itself was called under the auspices of the local Zionist Organization but representation was given to such organizations as were known to be in sympathy with the Zionist cause.

An exception was made in the instance of the Kansas City Jewry where representation to the conference was given to the United Synagogues as such. Other Jewries in the southwest, not being so organized, could not receive such an invitation to participate in the deliberations at the conference in order not to em-

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barrass the new Zionist Administration with new precedences. The date decided upon was July 25-26, and the place the Muehlebach Hotel, Kansas City, Mo.

The call for the conference was issued July 12, 1921. The Zionist Organization of America as well as the temporary organization of the Keren Hayesod both were of great assistance.

Under date of July 5, 1921, Louis Lipsky, general secretary of the Zionist Administrative Committee, wrote to me as follows:

“My dear Rabbi Glazer:

We are making every effort to have Mr. Abe Goldberg present at your conference July 25-26. Dr. Mossinsohn will be engaged all this while in New England and we cannot transfer him to the middle west. Mr. Goldberg will spend probably two or three days in the middle west speaking not only in Kansas City but in other places where arrangements have been made. Naturally we are very glad to hear that Kansas City and other middle western cities are in favor of the Keren Hayesod. We have to meet the extensive propaganda which is being carried on by the defeated administration. The only way we can meet it is by working hard

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for the Keren Hayesod and clearing up the principles upon which the Heren Hayesod is based.

Very cordially yours,  
LOUIS LIPSKY,  
General Secretary."

Emanuel Neumann, executive secretary of the temporary organization of the Keren Hayesod, having been notified that the conference would be held here, wired as follows:

"New York, July 25, 1921.

Keren Hayesod Conference.

Care Rabbi Simon Glazer, 2732 Harrison  
Street, Kansas City, Mo.

Keren Hayesod Bureau for United States sends greetings your conference. We hope your deliberations will result in immediate practical work. Have received cable message Weizmann recently requesting funds immediately for Land Mortgage Bank Ruttenberg scheme and erection dwellings for immigrants. We await your response.

EMANUEL NEUMANN,  
Secretary Keren Hayesod."

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Dr. Smaxya Levin wired as follows:

“New York, July 25, 1921.  
Keren Hayesod Conference, care of Rabbi  
Simon Glazer, Kansas City, Mo.

My best wishes for complete success of your conference. Political situation with regard to Palestine critical. Can be relieved only by undertaking immediate constructive work in Palestine. Must raise in America million dollars cash before Congress (meaning Carlsbad Congress of the Zionist organization held during September, 1921). Urge you make strenuous effort to secure funds immediately to meet present emergency.”

SMARYA LEVIN.”

In this message Dr. Levin echoed the words spoken to me by Dr. Weizmann. I differed then—and events have justified this difference of opinion—with both Dr. Weizmann and Dr. Levin. No country or nation can be either built up or established with hysteric efforts. That the political situation was critical I could see, but that it could be relieved by raising one million or even ten million dollars I could not see at all.

About that time the entire structure of my plan had been formulated and a course of action mapped out.

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The conference was a great success, beyond my most sanguine expectations. The press gave the conference very much prominence in every city throughout the southwest. The conference was attended by 168 delegates representing every Zionist district, every Mis-rachi organization and every Paole Zion organization within the states of Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma. The Administrative committee and the Keren Hayesod executives were represented by Mr. Abraham Goldberg of New York, and the World Zionist Organization was represented by Mr. Max Shulman of Chicago, member of the Greater Actions Committee.

The first session of the Southwestern Keren Hayesod Conference opened at the ballroom of the Muehlebach Hotel, Monday, July 25, at 11 a. m. Mr. W. H. Taylor, general manager of public welfare of Kansas City, Mo., who represented the late Honorable James Cowgill, Mayor of Kansas City, welcomed the delegates in a most eloquent address. He said in part:

"I am glad to be here this morning. I regret very much that the Mayor is not able to be present in person before this representative body of Jewish people. I think it a pleasure to welcome you to our city.

"Today as I stand here it seems to me that

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I am occupying a historic position. I feel that we are at the end of a great journey, and that the great hope that we had in the beginning, is now being fulfilled as a great prophecy. It is wonderful, wonderful. We cast our eyes upward and we get a glimpse of the wonders of the great God. He speaks today as he spoke in olden days to me and to you. We look to you, my brethren, today; we look to you for much, and we have a right to expect much. We welcome you indeed, not with hurrahs and huzzahs but kindly, prayerfully, hopefully, cheerfully with open arms. We greet you to our city. You have brought high ideals, you will leave them here; and upon these walls though it may seem that no impression will be made, but from out of these hearts will go forth that touch of human feeling. It does not seem long since that one was turned out and told to go forth from Ur of the Chaldeans and that the promise which was made to him is now about to be consummated.

“My brethren, we have this great joy, that the God of Israel is the God of us all. A sweeter and more loving message no man can bring to this world. You have kept it and preserved it. We may look to others for other things, but to the Jewish people we look for our religious life and our ideas of God. As for me and mine,



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and for those I love and the great city I represent, I call upon them to have first of all, the great thought of the God of heaven and earth; the great God first of all and then the culture and refinement of that religion which you bring to our world.

"I welcome you in behalf of the mayor and city. We welcome you to our hearts and our homes."

Rabbi Glazer: "We are meeting here this morning not as representatives of a movement aiming to alienate the affections of any Jewish citizen from this country. We all are American citizens. Because we are American citizens, our foremost duty was and is to study American history and to teach American history to our children in its proper light, and we as the people of the book, a people that has preserved history for mankind know how to teach history. And because we know American history we have a right to point to our Zionist work as a genuine American doctrine. Our aim is to establish a national homeland in Palestine for the Jewish people. Had not the Fathers of our country assembled together and proclaimed to the American people that 'there shall be liberty throughout the land for all the inhabitants thereof,' no nation on the face of the

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earth would have the fruits of liberty today.

We have a right as American citizens to say to our brethren who have no liberty, 'We have liberty, we shall try to give you similar liberty in a homeland of your own.'

It is because that I am convinced that Zionism is a genuine American doctrine that I came from the Cleveland convention determined to instill this feeling first in the hearts of all the Jewish people and then in the minds of all America. Fellow delegates, I deeply appreciate your presence here and I must warn you that we have great work before us. Before this convention will close all American Israel will know that a great chapter of history was made by the Jewish people of the southwest."

Mr. Shulman of Chicago was unanimously elected chairman of the conference.

Mr. Shulman: "Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow delegates: I accepted the invitation to be here knowing that conventions of this kind are very much in need. It is practically impossible for New York to reach every section of the country. It is therefore high time that the various regions, the mid-western states, the southwestern states and other still further outlying districts throughout the country confer, organize and elect representatives to be respon-

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sible for the Zionist work within their respective territories. The work that is now before us, namely, the Keren Hayesod, I take it that all of you are more or less familiar with. I hope you all have come to the conference to have an opportunity to give the work a greater impetus. The Keren Hayesod work is now the only thing before the Jews of the world. Palestine will either be rebuilt or the opportunity will slip by. The Keren Hayesod is not an American fund, it is not a European fund, it is a Zionist institution aiming to raise one hundred million dollars for the purpose of building up Palestine as a Jewish homeland. We want to raise a large sum of money to do all the necessary work in Palestine; to build harbors, railroads, public utilities, telephones, telegraphs, industries, houses, power plants; to irrigate and afforest the country and do everything else which it is necessary for a natural national life for the Jewish people that are now flocking into Palestine. One of our great fortunes is the fact that Palestine is not yet cultivated, built up and prosperous. Had Palestine been so the ones who had developed it would have had a just claim upon it and kept it for themselves. We do not want anyone to do the work for us. We desire to be the pioneers and do the work that is necessary. We have

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creative ability, we have the men, the will-power, the national consciousness and therefore should build ourselves.

"We are grateful to the Allied Powers for having given to Great Britain the mandate over Palestine, but we want you to bear in mind one thing—neither England nor the United States, nor any other power on earth can give Palestine to the Jewish people. There is only one people that can both give and take Palestine, that people is ourselves."

The conference lasted for two days in which five business sessions were held. The wind-up or the sixth session was a mass meeting at the Shriner's Temple, Twelfth and Prospect, Kansas City, Mo., where a sum of more than \$25,000 for the Keren Hayesod was subscribed. The resolutions adopted at the conference were as follows:

"It is the sense of this conference that the five states, namely, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma, be and are hereby declared a district unit for the Keren Hayesod to be known as the Southwestern Keren Hayesod Region.

Be it further resolved, that a permanent office be established in Kansas City to carry on the work of the Keren Hayesod, if it be met with the approval of the national executives of

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the American temporary organization of the Keren Hayesod.

Be it further resolved, that all of the five states shall be represented on the executive committee, such representatives to supervise the work of the Southwestern Keren Hayesod region.

Be it further resolved, that in the administration of the Keren Hayesod work be included representatives of all Jewish organizations within the region, if such organizations will desire to participate.

### ARTICLE II.

The Southwestern Keren Hayesod conference recognizes the Cleveland convention as the highest authority in American Zionism and pledges its full and loyal support to the present Administration.

Be it further resolved, that the Southwestern Keren Hayesod Bureau shall be in charge of a Keren Hayesod director who shall be under the supervision of the executive officers of this region.

Be it further resolved, that this conference, fully appreciating the services rendered to the cause of Zionism during the trying days of the

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late war by the former officers of the Zionist Organization of America, call upon them now at this critical period of our movement, to lend their full and loyal support and urges upon them, individually and collectively, to participate in the deliberation of the World Zionist Congress to be held at Carlsbad during the month of September next and to co-operate with the Keren Hayesod and the Zionist Organization of America.

### ARTICLE III.

Be it further resolved, that the officers of the Southwestern Keren Hayesod region consist of one president, two vice-presidents, one regional treasurer, one general treasurer, one recording secretary, one financial secretary, an advisory council of five members and an executive committee of ten members, two members from each of the five states.

### ARTICLE IV.

That this conference extends its thanks to the Kansas City Jewry, to the Kansas City press and to the Jewish press of the country."

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The following officers were elected:

President—S. R. Travis, Tulsa, Okla.

First Vice-President—Charles Silberman,  
Des Moines, Ia.

Second Vice-President—Professor Gustave  
Klausner, St. Louis, Mo.

General Treasurer—H. Appleman, Tulsa,  
Okla.

Regional Treasurer—A. A. Smith, Kansas  
City, Mo.

General Secretary—Dr. M. A. Elstein, Kan-  
sas City, Mo.

Recording Secretary—Louis Plost, Tulsa,  
Okla.

President Advisory Council—Alfred Benja-  
min, Kansas City, Mo.

Vice-President Advisory Council—Rabbi  
Simon Glazer.

## MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY BOARD.

Rabbi M. Braudy, St. Joseph, Mo.

Rabbi J. L. Goldenson, St. Louis, Mo.

Rabbi H. Kopstein, Sioux City, Iowa.

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STATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS.

IOWA.

A. E. Galinsky, Sioux City.  
Philip Lipson, Cedar Rapids.

NEBRASKA.

I. Goldstein, Omaha.  
I. Shostak, Lincoln.

KANSAS.

Mrs. H. Rosenbloom, Wichita.  
I. S. Galitsky, Topeka.

OKLAHOMA.

D. R. Travis, Tulsa.  
A. S. Kaplan, Bartlesville.

MISSOURI.

Meyer Hurwitz, St. Louis.  
Max Studna, Kansas City.

At the fourth session of the Southwestern Keren Hayesod conference Mr. Abraham Goldberg delivered a most inspiring address, tracing the history of the late differences in the Zionist ranks and outlining the practical work to be done in order to again consolidate the Zionist forces.

During the fifth session of the conference



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the political situation of Zionism was mentioned by Shulman, Goldberg and others. I deliberately refrained from mentioning anything more than the fact contained in the telegram of Dr. Schmarya Levin.

Reading the reports of the Southwestern conference in the different newspapers I realized that the ground work of the structure was complete. Every Jewish community within the five states knew about the Keren Hayesod, its aims and objects, and also became interested in Zionism generally.

Having created a permanent organization with authority centered in the different communities throughout the five states, I realized that as the convenor of the conference I could easily get the desired co-operation, should I be in need of assistance, by calling upon the persons I had in mind. Thus was the initial step made most successfully.

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### CHAPTER III

#### THE NEW ZIONIST ADMINISTRATION

I found the situation, both at the Zionist and at the Keren Hayesod headquarters, alarming. With all of the great American leaders out of the movement, Weizmann and Ussischkin in Europe, and new and untried men as heads of great departments, the task of holding the organization together was herculean. The chief concern in the mind of every responsible person in either of the headquarters was the political situation.

The Carlsbad Congress of the World Zionist Organization was but a fortnight hence. The leaders of the new Zionist Administration had to prepare themselves for their journey to the Congress.

On the day of my arrival in New York, the new Administrative Committee held a conference at the Commodore Hotel. At that conference the American resolutions to be presented at the Carlsbad Congress were drafted. I was invited to attend the conference. Joseph Barondess presided, with Louis Lipsky acting as secretary. There were thirty-four people present.

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The Jewish notables in America were most conspicuous by their absence from the conference, where policies of far-reaching consequences to millions of Jews were being shaped.

The European Zionists have the ability, the will-power, the zeal, the fervent patriotism and the unbounded devotion to carry out the principles enunciated by Dr. Herzl and his able successors. But they all are unable even to commence actual work of construction in Palestine without the assistance of American Israel. Be it said, however, to the credit of the European Zionist leaders, that they had never looked upon their American brethren as materialists only. On the contrary, they always listened to American advice. As a matter of fact, at the London Zionist Conference of 1920, they tendered the leadership of the World Zionist Organization to eminent American Jewish statesmen, who unfortunately were not in a position to accept it. I realized what great opportunity the leading American Jews of this generation had lost in not being present at that conference.

The hour and the need create the men. In a session lasting the better part of an afternoon and evening, matters of grave importance came before that conference. When adjournment was decided upon, many phases of real impor-

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tant issues were left open, wanting the advice of the Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization. Here again it became manifest to me, and I was more than ever convinced, that the cloud of pessimism which I saw hovering above the Zionist horizon came up from the different chancellories of the world.

Witnessing this conference, I was cheered up considerably, not on account of the discussion, which was entirely cheerless, but on account of the fact that nothing was done in haste, nothing was left to chance, and everything was done with the greatest care becoming an able parliamentary body anywhere within the civilized world.

Herman Conheim facilitated an executive meeting of the temporary organization of the Keren Hayesod, which was also attended by several members of the Zionist Administrative Committee, among whom were Louis Lipsky and Abraham Goldberg. I delivered to them the set of the resolutions passed by the Southwestern Keren Hayesod conference and requested them to establish headquarters for the Southwestern Keren Hayesod Region. They consented to do so only on one condition: that for the time being and up until after the Carlsbad Congress, when the Keren Hayesod organ-

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ization would be chartered and established on a permanent basis, the Southwestern Keren Hayesod Bureau should be together with the offices of the United Synagogues of Greater Kansas City. This latter condition was stipulated at the request of Conheim and Goldberg.

On the same day the following telegram was addressed to Dr. M. A. Elstein, Secretary of the Southwestern Keren Hayesod Region:

“New York, N. Y., August 10, 1921.

“Dr. M. A. Elstein,  
c/o United Synagogues,  
606 Kemper Bldg.,  
Kansas City, Mo.

“At Rabbi Glazer’s request decided to open Kansas City office. Trust you will proceed immediately with your plans.

(Signed) Joseph Jason.”

On August 11, 1921, I invited Herman Conheim and Abraham Goldberg to have a private conference with me at the Commodore Hotel. I did so at the suggestion of Dr. Smarya Levin.

During the morning of the previous day, I had seen Dr. Smarya Levin, who at that time was recuperating from a serious illness, and was still confined to his room. I found him very gloomy, and when I mentioned to him the fact that during the fall of 1905 when we first

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met, his features did not express as much strength and courage as now, he clenched both his fists and said:

"We have the courage; we have the knowledge; we may get the money; but we have not the friends who will remove from our path the 'flaming sword which turned every way' and facilitate for us an entrance into our ancient Eden."

He mentioned to me a certain feature in connection with the Palestine mandate insofar as one particular European chancellory was concerned, which he likened to the "flaming sword which turned every way."

Dr. Levin must have anticipated some valuable information when he brought up the subject of friends, for he continued to ask me what the Jewish standing in the West and Southwest was, and how powerful their friends in public life are, and what if anything the western Jews could do politically for the cause. He candidly admitted that with the removal of the Mack-Brandeis group from the Zionist Administration the political situation in America became really critical. I did not dare confide even to Dr. Levin my bold plan of a resolution in the United States Senate, but I disclosed to him the fact that one of the oldest and greatest statesmen in America, the Hon. Albert B. Cum-

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mins, President pro tem. of the United States Senate, at one time assured me \*that he was a staunch Jewish friend and will work for any law which may remove every disability against the Jews anywhere in the world. In addition to this outstanding fact, I intimated to him that it would be quite possible to interest a number of western statesmen, who, finding our cause just and not contrary to the interests of America or Americanism, would be glad to come to our assistance.

Dr. Levin stood up erect, extended both of his hands to me and said: "It is evident that Zionism is a sacred cause. The Balfour Declaration was first drafted in the home of that great divine, Rabbi Moses Gaster of London. Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer, Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer and Rabbi Jacob Reinies, the two former even before the days of Herzl, and the latter when Dr. Herzl came to us, have been of the greatest help to further Zionism in the hearts of our people. If you will be able to get for us some of the friends you suggest, you will be the one to complete the *Mizvah*. "However," he continued, "the new Zionist Administration have appointed a political committee, of which Herman Conheim and Abraham Goldberg are the principle members. Confer with both these

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\*See facsimile of the letter by Senator Cummins to me in the year 1908 on page 17.

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gentlemen so that your mission may have the seal of authorization."

I was almost tempted to tell Dr. Levin that my intentions were to go a great deal farther than he ever imagined. I also greatly desired to cite the example of Rabbi Manasseh Ibn Ysrael of Amsterdam, who unknown to anyone went to London, appeared before Cromwell and gained the readmission of the Jewish people in England. But I feared complications and, therefore, confined my last remarks to him to the effect that I would consult Conheim and Goldberg.

The conference between myself and Conheim and Goldberg took place during the early afternoon of August 11th. An unexpected participant to part of the conference was M. M. Travis of Tulsa, Okla., and New York City. Before the close of the conference I was commissioned by Conheim and Goldberg to visit several eminent statesmen and lay matters before them and, if possible, interest them in our great cause with a view of having them take up the matter of the political situation affecting Zionism, with the State Department at Washington.

Intending to see Senator Albert B. Cummins in a day or so thereafter, I had promised to



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wireless Conheim and Goldberg, who were to leave the following day for Carlsbad to attend the World Zionist Congress.

Circumstances prevented me from going on to Washington just then, and instead brought me to Montreal, Quebec, where I was fortunate to be able to map out my complete course of action.

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### CHAPTER IV

#### GOVERNOR ALLEN

Realizing that the task before me would require accurate information concerning the Balfour Declaration and the circumstances immediately preceding it, I had to inform myself on few points which had not remained very clear in my mind. I got the desired data from an Ottawa, Ontario, friend on Sunday, August 14th, which happened to be *Tishaah be-Ab* (anniversary of the destruction of the first and second temples).

After the Balfour Declaration was issued, a vehement protest against the Declaration was entered by the West-European and American Reform Jews, on the ground that, to their belief, the Declaration establishes dual citizenship for the Jews in Diaspora.

The data which I obtained on that visit in Montreal proved of invaluable service to the cause almost immediately after I returned to Kansas City.

The United Synagogues of Greater Kansas City include also the two synagogues of Kansas City, Kans. In addition, I had intimate knowl-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

edge of the conditions of the Topeka Jewish community, having assisted them to erect a synagogue and a community center. These facts carried my mind toward the State of Kansas, where the possibility of doing some pioneer work in connection with my plan suggested itself.

Desiring to give no publicity to my real intentions in a contemplated visit to Topeka, I called up over the long-distance telephone, Harry C. Shapiro, Secretary of the Topeka synagogue and President of the Zionist district there, and requested him to call a Keren Hayesod meeting and inform the community that I would be there to speak. The response to my appeal for the Keren Hayesod was very generous. The meeting was adjourned late at night. This gave me a valid reason to remain there part of the next day.

Ike Gilberg, a Topeka Jewish tailor, who spent a busy life doing things, with the happy ability of being able to do a number of things at one time, was pointed out to me as a friend of Governor Henry J. Allen. By arrangements, Mr. and Mrs. Harry C. Shapiro, whose guest I was, invited Mr. Gilberg for luncheon. I told my host and hostess as well as Mr. Gilberg that, being in Topeka, I had a sincere desire to meet personally the celebrated Governor of Kansas.

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Ike, without hesitation, went to the telephone, called up a number, imparted the information that "Ike Gilberg was talking, and that he desired to see the Governor at once." I heard him furthermore state, "Yes, will be over in few minutes." He came back completely relieved of his appetite, reminded himself of something else, went back to the telephone, called up another number and commanded some young man to "come at once with your car to show the Rabbi of Kansas City the beauty spots of Topeka."

On the way to the Capitol, I studied the features of Ike Gilberg. They revealed to me many things. Above all, I surmised that within his heart of hearts, notwithstanding his own probable denial of the fact, he would, if occasion demanded it, yield his life for the love of his people. I immediately trusted him, and I am happy to chronicle the fact that by placing my trust in him I made no mistake. His chief amusement and work in life is talking; but for months he did not reveal a syllable of what he had heard at the executive offices of Governor Allen.

Governor Allen is a great man; speaks like a great man; and above all, listens like a great man. Before I had completed my opening remarks, the Governor interrupted me with a

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

question, "Do you know that there is a Syrian commission, headed by a French-Canadian Catholic priest, touring every state capital in the country, requesting sympathy for the Arabs and protesting against the Balfour Declaration?" I confessed I did not. I had been informed that there is an Arabian delegation in America with headquarters at New York; but that a commission headed by a French-Canadian Catholic priest was touring the country, was indeed shocking news to me. The Governor made me feel much relieved when between two very happy smiles he said, "I paid no attention to that; they saw my Secretary."

Just then I turned toward Ike Gilberg. I felt happy that I had taken him along to be present at the interview. Not a syllable of any word spoken had escaped him. His countenance had that happy appearance which one could find on the face of a real pious Jew on Friday night.

By degrees I revealed my entire plan, which really was the first time I had uttered it in words. Up until that moment the whole structure appeared in my mind as a mere skeleton sketch; but realizing that my words are moving the heart of one of the leading statesmen in America, I at once believed that the plan, because of its boldness, will be a success.

The Governor in his replies and statements

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

during the lengthy interview manifested a thorough knowledge of the Jewish question in general and of Zionism in particular. There were certain points which had not appeared clear to him. I promised that I would on my return to Kansas City, as soon as I could gather all the data, mail to him a memorandum outlining the chief points which he desired to clear up before taking the matter up with Senators Curtis and Capper and ask them to present the resolution I had outlined, in the United States Senate.

The memorandum to Governor Allen follows:

“Kansas City, Mo.  
September 2, 1921.

Governor Henry J. Allen,  
State of Kansas,  
Topeka, Kans.  
My dear Governor:

It was indeed a delight to meet you personally, and I beg leave to thank you for the opportunity given to me at such a short notice.

In accordance with my promise, I beg leave to submit to you a memorandum of our conversation Wednesday.

The political basis for a national Jewish homeland in Palestine is, of course, the promise

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

of the British Government published November 2, 1917, which reads as follows:

‘His Majesty’s government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.’

This resolution, known as the Balfour Declaration, was subsequently accepted by the allied conference in San Remo on April 24, 1920; and at the same time Palestine was placed under the protection of the League of Nations and Great Britain given the mandate to administer it, with a special view of promoting the establishment of a Jewish national home there.

Sir Herbert Samuel, a leading statesman, whose sympathies towards Zionism are well known, has been appointed High Commissioner to Palestine, and in this way the historic homeland of the Jewish race has been reopened to the Jews.

Palestine within its present boundaries, is a country of about 10,000 square miles, inhabited by some 750,000 people, of whom ten per cent

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

are Jews. This means that on the average every square mile of Palestinian territory contains only seventy-five inhabitants. Sicily has 252 inhabitants per square mile; Belgium, 568. This shows that Palestine could accommodate an incomparably larger population than it does at present. There is room for several millions of Jewish immigrants, without any need of 'squeezing in or out' the present population. It is only a question of developing the country's natural resources; in other words, a question of Jewish energy and skill to make Palestine a busy country and a desirable place to live in. That the Jews are capable of doing it their worst enemies cannot and dare not deny.

In the year 1914, before the outbreak of the war, there were forty-three Jewish colonies in Palestine containing 408,742 dunams of land (80,000 acres), and about 12,000 inhabitants. The capital invested in these colonies in Palestine amounted to twelve million dollars. With improved machinery and health conditions the progress of the colonies would be an hundred-fold.

Great Britain has recognized the World Zionist Organization as the agency to carry out the scheme of making Palestine a national homeland for the Jewish people. That recognition was reiterated at the San Remo decision.



## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

France holds under military rule Syria and Lebanon, penetrating quite deeply into the territory hitherto classed by all historians and Biblical authorities as ancient Judaea, and even claiming rights to the upper parts of every useful stream. Moreover, France is interested in promoting the welfare of the Syrian Catholics. To that extent, the French Government are receiving the support of the Vatican.

You, my dear Governor, and I know that the world today looks to the United States for leadership. The United States can, at the mere motion of its index finger, change any situation or any political doctrine anywhere in the world. Presently our Government cannot and will not interfere in any of the conflicts going on among the newly-created little and big states, insofar as Europe is concerned. But America, a country standing at the very pinnacle of civilization, cannot ignore the events which transpire in the holy of holies of the world's history, in the cradle of the world's civilization—in the Holy Land.

The civilization of the world demands a solution to the Jewish problem. Eleven millions of European Jews are today like a man without a country. Under the existing political situation, America sanctioned none of the mandates created by the League of Nations. It has ex-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

plicitly stated so in our treaty with Germany, as you well know. The only practical step to bring about a solution to this complicated Near-Eastern problem, insofar as Palestine is concerned, would be to lift the American voice in behalf of the 'countryless people for the peopleless country.' It is possible to do so without active participation in the affairs of the League of Nations.

*A resolution of sympathy by the United States Senate will accomplish all. To that end we need the sympathy and friendship of our great senators.*

You, my dear Governor, know thoroughly well the two eminent senators of your State. Would it not be possible for you to recommend to the senators of your State favorable action upon such a resolution, if it be brought in the United States Senate? I do sincerely believe that you, as the champion of justice and equity among men, should take a very active interest in bringing about the passing of such a resolution. *You can easily do so by asking one of the senators of your State to frame such a resolution.*

*I have no doubt that if Senator Curtis will bring in a resolution sympathizing with the aspirations of the Jewish people to establish a national homeland in Palestine, that it would*

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

*receive the unanimous vote of the United States Senate.* It is not at all necessary nor desirable that the United States Senate mentions the mandate given to Great Britain by the League of Nations over Palestine, as this would probably be an objectionable feature. But a general resolution of sympathy with such a movement would remove every obstacle from the path of the Jewish people, and within a short period the tide of Jewish immigration could be diverted to Palestine.

Humanity demands such action. Millions of people belonging to an ancient race, which has contributed so many glorious chapters to the story of mankind, are now wandering in search of a home, begging admission in every port city of the world, with very few ready to receive them. May I not suggest that action along this line by you would aid materially in solving this great problem?

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) SIMON GLAZER,  
Rabbi of United Synagogues  
of Greater Kansas City."

SG:DC

On the 14th of September I received a reply from the Governor, together with a letter to

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

him from Senator Curtis, facsimiles of which appear in this book. \*On September 19, 1921, the Governor wrote to Senator Curtis as follows:

### "EXECUTIVE OFFICE

STATE OF KANSAS

Topeka, Kans., Sept. 19, 1921.

Honorable Charles Curtis,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Curtis:

Thank you for your good letter of the 13th inst. in reference to my communication touching the resolution of sympathy for the Jewish people. I am sending your letter to Rabbi Simon Glazer, who will, I know, thoroughly appreciate it and who doubtless will communicate with you along the lines suggested in your letter.

Thanking you very much for your kind attention to this, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) HENRY J. ALLEN."

The Governor's activities produced results; in fact, the greatest results. He initiated the

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\*See page 19.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

whole movement by requesting Senator Curtis to draft the Palestine resolution.

In reply to the Governor's letter of September 19th, a facsimile of which appears in this book,\*\* I wrote as follows:

“612-614 Massachusetts Bldg.

Kansas City, Mo., Sept. 20, 1921.

Governor Henry J. Allen,  
State of Kansas,  
Topeka, Kans.

My dear Governor:

I beg leave to thank you for your very kind letter of the 19th inst. It has gladdened my heart, and I know it will gladden the hearts of my people, when your efforts will come to light as a glorious chapter in the history of the Jewish people.

I have pointed out to you in my letter concerning our interview that without proper safeguards in phrasing such a resolution, complications may arise. You may rest assured that the greatest care will be taken in the handling of this matter, and as you were the first great American to make it possible for such a step to

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\*\*See page 11.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

be taken, nothing will be done without your full knowledge and approval. It may be troublesome to you to read correspondence not directly concerning the State of Kansas; but we judge you not as the Governor of the State of Kansas but as one of America's leading citizens, destined for many, many greater things than that of being the Governor of a great State.

I know that Senator Capper will co-operate after you will have a personal talk with him. I am writing direct to Senator Curtis, asking him to see Secretary of State Hughes in connection with this matter. The phraseology of such a resolution can best be attended to by the Senator himself. It may possibly be that through your great influence and through the very good offices of the Senators of your State, no public resolution will be required, as the only thing we desire is the sympathy of the United States towards the establishment of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine.

Our State Department, if it so deems desirable, may, without in the least complicating anything, give such an assent to Great Britain; that is to say that our Government recognizes the mandatory power of Great Britain over Palestine and expresses its sympathy with the Balfour Declaration and the San Reno decision, insofar as the establishment of a Jewish na-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

tional homeland in Palestine is concerned. If there be anything I can do in the way of bringing home to you or to any of the Senators, additional facts in reference to this all important Jewish question, I am at your service.

Thanking you again, and hoping for the success you so heartily wish us, I beg leave to remain,

Yours very truly,  
(Signed) SIMON GLAZER  
Rabbi of United Synagogues  
of Greater Kansas City."

SG:DC

After I received the first letter from Senator Curtis in reply to mine, imparting to me the information that he had drafted a resolution of sympathy toward the establishment of a national homeland in Palestine, I wrote to Governor Allen as follows:

"Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 20, 1921.

Honorable Henry J. Allen,  
Governor of State of Kansas,  
Topeka, Kans.

My dear Governor Allen:

Words fail me to express the thanks of the people of Israel for your most kind act in intro-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

ducing the subject of Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people to Senator Curtis. \* \* \*

The very fact that Senator Curtis prepared such a resolution was a potent factor to cause our State Department to speak in definite terms concerning the mandate of Palestine. I have no doubt that if you and Senator Curtis will continue to act in this self-same spirit as you did until now, our Government will not only find no objection to the Palestine mandate, but will actually bring it about in a more practical way than it was generally understood.

Permit me, dear Governor, to assure you that no Christian in this generation has undertaken a greater mission than you.

Your very humble servant,

(Signed) SIMON GLAZER  
Rabbi of United Synagogues  
of Greater Kansas City."

SG:DB

When matters had advanced far enough that I considered a trip to Washington and an interview with the President not only desirable, but inevitable, I addressed the following letter to Governor Allen:



## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

"612-614 Massachusetts Bldg.  
Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 10, 1921.

Honorable Henry J. Allen,  
Governor of State of Kansas,  
Topeka, Kans.

My dear Governor:

I have this day wired the following message  
to Senator Curtis:

'Honorable Charles Curtis,  
United States Senator,  
Washington, D. C.

Could you arrange for me an interview  
with President Harding? Please reply by  
wire as the matter is very urgent.

(Signed) RABBI SIMON GLAZER  
Rabbi of United Synagogues.'

I do not know whether Senator Curtis will  
be in a position to accommodate me in this mat-  
ter, and as you have been of the greatest help  
to my people in the past two months, I again  
direct my prayers to you. With the Disarm-  
ament Conference going on, the President's  
time is surely of the greatest value. Neverthe-  
less, I am sure that with the aid of Senator Cur-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

tis, I could get to see him. Your Secretary informed me that you are leaving for the East yourself; perhaps I will be able to see you at Washington the latter part of next week, which in itself would be of the greatest help to my mission. However, my request of you this time is to be good enough to write to Senator Curtis to receive me and to give me the introduction necessary. I will highly appreciate if you will reply to this letter by wire, so that it may reach me on Saturday in order to enable me to leave for Washington the early part of next week.

Thanking you most heartily, I am,

Your very humble servant,

(Signed) SIMON GLAZER

Rabbi of United Synagogues  
of Greater Kansas City."

SG:DC

The Governor wired to Washington as requested. He also was in Washington the day after I saw the President. A facsimile of his letter to me in reference to my interview with the President appears in this book.\*

The Governor's name will remain indelibly imprinted in the pages of Jewish history. He

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\*See page 9.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

took the initiative in a work which led to the final success of the Zionist movement. In a speech at Topeka last June, the Governor modestly disclaimed any credit to himself, graciously adding that he "well remembered the words used by the Rabbi to be identical with which was finally passed by the Senate."

The Governor ennobled himself in the hearts of all who know him by his modesty.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

### CHAPTER V.

#### GOVERNOR HYDE AND GOVERNOR MCKELVIE

The sympathy of Governor Allen toward the movement of bringing in a resolution in the United States Senate favoring Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people, created a situation which demanded further action. I had originally outlined my course of action to interest in this project the Governors of the states of Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma, and the Senators representing these states in the United States Senate. The test was at Topeka.

Jefferson City has no Jewish community to speak of, and I knew of no one who could properly introduce me to Governor Hyde. I disclosed the entire program to A. A. Smith, Regional Treasurer of the Southwestern Keren Hayesod Bureau, who seeing the Topeka report, became interested in the work. Mr. Smith suggested to me that the vice-president of his company, Mr. E. W. Koch, a colonel of the Governor's staff, should accompany me to Jefferson City and give me the necessary introduction.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

On Friday, September 23, 1921, Colonel Koch introduced me to Governor Arthur M. Hyde of Missouri. I outlined to the Governor a full sketch of how to remove all obstructions from the path of Zionism and prevent all possible complications, should our State Department take action favorable to Zionism in an ordinary diplomatic manner. The Governor was sympathetic from the very first moment the subject was broached. He suggested a communication to Senator Selden P. Spencer. During the interview, which was quite a lengthy one, I was convinced that I was in the presence of an ever-ready friend, a man whose fundamental belief is in American institutionalism, which carries along with it justice, equality and humanity. I forwarded to Governor Hyde a written memorandum of our interview which was as follows:

“Office of United Synagogues  
of Greater Kansas City.  
612-14 Massachusetts Bldg.,  
Kansas City, Mo.  
September 26, 1921.

Honorable Arthur M. Hyde,  
Governor of State of Missouri,  
Jefferson City, Mo.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

My dear Governor:

I beg leave to submit a memorandum of our interview Friday, the 23rd inst.

Our former Administration endorsed the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, promising Palestine as a Jewish national homeland. The wording of the declaration, before it was made public, was submitted to former President Wilson, who found no objection thereto, but on the contrary endorsed it. On April 24, 1920, at San Remo, Italy, the League of Nations proclaimed a decision ratifying the Balfour Declaration, and named Great Britain as the mandatory power over Palestine. With the disappearance of the Wilson Administration, the question of mandates became paramount in our State Department. Our Government took the stand, and, as we know, rightly so, that the disposition of any territory, or the conferring of a mandatory power upon any nation without the consent of the United States cannot be sanctioned. This of course, in addition to the fact that the former Turkish Empire was not an enemy nation, altered political conditions, insofar as the Balfour Declaration is concerned, materially, as a result of which the age-old hope of the Jewish people to establish a national home in the land of their fathers received a backward jolt.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Meantime, the Zionist Organization of the World, the recognized agency to rebuild Palestine, proceeded to purchase land and formulate extensive plans, such as the irrigation, electrification and afforestation of Palestine. Pioneers in the thousands are flocking to the shores of ancient Judaea.

The League of Nations at Geneva submitted to the inevitable and declared that it is powerless to handle the mandatory situation without the United States, thereby deferring the whole matter of mandates until the Disarmament Conference will open at Washington on November 11 next. On the Agenda as published through the press, the question of mandates, although it only speaks of mandatory isles (meaning the Far East), is scheduled to be taken up by the conference as the last item. In view of all this, the world's Jewry turn their eyes toward the United States for help.

There are at present, at the very least, three million Jewish refugees who cannot, under existing conditions, claim legal residence in any European country. This tragic situation came along with the creation of new states in southeastern, eastern and central Europe. The eastern front during the war embraced the former Pale of Jewish of Settlement in Russia. Now Poland, Lithuania, Eusthonia, Finland,

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Latvia, Czechoslovakia and Jugo-Slovakia are, under the terms of the Versailles treaty, forced to recognize the Jews who were residing at their respective countries at the time of the peace conference. But the latter countries are unwilling to admit that the former residents there, who fled or were driven by the enemy during the war, are entitled to such consideration. Most of these refugees were driven in the interior of the former Russian empire. For almost seven years, hundreds of thousands of those refugees were supported by the generosity of the American Jews. But we cannot have millions of men and women pauperized for all times.

Moreover, under the present immigration laws of the United States, immigrants are admitted on a three percent basis of the nationals as have resided in this country in 1910. This situation prevents, under the existing restrictions, more than sixty per cent of the Jews who otherwise would have been entitled to admission to this country from entering it.

The European nationals are of course subject to regulations concerning emigration of their respective countries where American consulates grant visas. The new governments as a matter of policy refuse permits of emigration to such Jews as are legally at a disadvan-



## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

tage by having no legal claim as citizens of those states. Thus, the situation is such that any delay means danger.

The only remedy to ameliorate the sufferings of the millions of Jewish men, women and children and to for all times find a solution to the Jewish problem, is *by opening Palestine to them*. Palestine can be opened to the Jewish people only by the sympathy of the American Government. There are two ways open by which the Jewish people may be saved: (a) A sympathetic resolution in the United States Senate for the aim of the Jewish people to establish a national homeland in Palestine along the lines of the Balfour Declaration; (b) To have our State Department, through the usual diplomatic channels, give sanction to such establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine by not including the Palestine mandate in the terms of the protest against mandates generally.

Governor Allen of the State of Kansas was good enough to recommend such a resolution and requested United States Senator Charles Curtis to introduce it. Senator Curtis expressed himself willing to present such a resolution, providing our State Department saw no complications in the phraseology of the resolution. This can well be overcome by framing

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

the resolution in proper diplomatic wording, without committing our Government to the principles of mandates in former enemy territory, particularly so since the Turkish Empire is not to be considered former enemy territory, as we were not officially at war with Turkey. It would be on the same principle as the recognition of our Government of Poland, which was part of the territory of a former ally.

In view of this, I pray to you, my dear Governor, to communicate these facts to the Honorable Selden P. Spencer, United States Senator from our State, who I know is a friend, and who will no doubt assist in bringing about the desired result. Your great influence will certainly achieve that end, and may the blessing of a people in prayer rest upon you.

Your humble servant,

(Signed) SIMON GLAZER,  
SG:DC      Rabbi of United Synagogues of  
Greater Kansas City."

The Governor, few days later, replied to this letter, quoting also a paragraph of the letter addressed to him by Senator Selden P. Spencer.\*

This strengthened my belief in the plan which I had formulated but tentatively at the

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\*See Illustration on Page 13.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Cleveland Convention, and brought on the decision to lay the matter before an executive session of the officers of the Southwestern Keren Hayesod, which took place on Sunday, September 25, 1921.

The following directors of the Southwestern Keren Hayesod were present: Meyer Hurwitz, St. Louis, Mo.; S. L. Shostak, Lincoln, Neb.; I. S. Galitzky, Topeka, Kans.; H. Appelman, D. R. Travis, Tulsa, Okla.; I. Goldstein, Omaha, Neb.; Max Studna, A. A. Smith, Alfred Benjamin, Rabbi Simon Glazer, Kansas City, Mo. Mr. Alfred Benjamin, chairman of the Advisory Council of the Southwestern Keren Hayesod Region, although not a professing Zionist, recognized the practicability of such a resolution and strongly endorsed the plan. The session lasted for more than three hours, which was mainly taken up with the plan of assisting me at Lincoln, Neb., and at Oklahoma City, Okla.

I knew that the two senators of the State of Iowa, one being the Honorable Albert B. Cummins, would help without extraordinary efforts. This was the primary reason why I did not include Des Moines in my itinerary.

At that meeting it was decided to cover all necessary expenses in connection with this work from the five percent of all collections

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

authorized by the temporary Administrative Committee of the Keren Hayesod at New York. Be it remembered, for the purpose of keeping history straight, *that all expenses in connection with my work*, from the day I left Kansas City to attend the Cleveland Convention, until I turned the matter of the Palestine resolution over to the Zionist Organization of America, *were taken care of by myself.*

To the credit of the directors of the Southwestern Keren Hayesod, it must be chronicled that not a single word of opposition to the plan of a Palestine resolution was uttered by any of them. On the contrary, everyone present encouraged it, fully realizing the far-reaching consequences which such a movement entailed and fully conscious of the important part the entire Southwest was playing in solving the Jewish problem.

That week was the last week of the year 5681. Anticipating early action by Senator Curtis, I could not afford to delay matters. I had to organize all forces possible in order, when necessary, to be able to muster in as much help as possible.

I arrived at Lincoln, Nebr., Tuesday, September 27, 1921. A committee, consisting of S. L. Shostak, Jacob Shapiro and Max Katelman, in-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

troduced me to Governor Samuel R. McKelvie of Nebraska.

The Governor received me in the historic executive office of the old Nebraska capitol. He grasped the whole situation from my opening remarks. For a young man he had managed to inform himself quite liberally on many questions affecting almost every race on the face of the earth. He jotted down only one or two notes, which evidently had to do with a couple of things he had learned during the interview for the first time. He was the second American to my knowledge to give expression regarding the treatment of the Jewish people throughout the world, even in countries where they have all the civic rights, should there be a Jewish state with Jewish representatives in every civilized country. Mr. Post, former Assistant Secretary of Labor under the Wilson Administration, at the annual meeting of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Society, in 1921, was the first American to express a like sentiment.

I reminded the Governor that Senator Hitchcock had already on several occasions before expressed his deep sympathy with the Zionist aspirations. The only question in connection with a Senate resolution that seemed to have troubled the mind of Governor McKelvie was,

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

how America could recognize Palestine, either as an independent state or as mandatory territory, in view of the fact, first, that America was not a member of the League of Nations, and second, that the Treaty of Sevres had not yet been issued. This obstacle was pointed out to me in the letter Secretary Christian wrote upon the instructions of President Harding on October 13, 1921.\* Governor McKelvie's fears and misgivings proved of great benefit in connection with the work. It stimulated such action which brought about the removal of every possible complication or obstruction.

After my interview with the Governor, which added strength to the convincing argument that only by bringing the Zionist cause before the American people in the form of a resolution can the end be attained, I decided to address a committee of Lincoln Jews regarding the Keren Hayesod. Mr. S. L. Shostak arranged for a large committee to meet me at the Lincoln Hotel during that afternoon. I found it more difficult to convince some of the Lincoln, Nebr., Jews as to the aims of the Zionist movement and the importance of the Keren Hayesod than to convince the Governor of the practicability of bringing in a Palestine resolution in the United States Senate. Unfortunately, there is still found in every Jewry a

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\*See facsimile letter on page 7.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

respectable element which remained indifferent to the entire subject. The State of Nebraska is partially responsible for the existing state of indifference on the part of the Lincoln Jewry. Nowhere in America do the Jewish people live more contented than in that wonderful state. Their own state of happiness and circumstances, being human, contributed no mean proportion of their coldness toward the national aspirations of the rest of the members of their race. I left Lincoln with genuine regret that I could not take along at least part of the atmosphere of the State of Nebraska and plant it in some quarters where more tolerance and genuine Americanism are needed.

While at Lincoln I received a telegram from H. Appelman of Tulsa, Okla., urging me to proceed at once to Oklahoma City, where an appointment had been made for me to meet Governor J. B. A. Robertson.

An incident at the town of Kingfisher, Okla., on my way from Lincoln to Oklahoma City, strengthened my determination to carry the work through. As the train stopped at that little station, strange singing—if singing I may call it—reached my ears. I saw several passengers looking out toward the station side of the train. I did likewise. There I beheld an old negro bent with age, his kinky hair griz-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

zled, his hands stretched out, singing and dancing and at intervals picking up pennies, nickels or dimes that the passengers threw out through the window. The sight puzzled me and I asked the conductor of the train if he knew what the negro was doing with the pennies and nickels and dimes. The conductor's reply was illuminating: "This old negro has been greeting every train that passes through Kingfisher with song and dance for many years. He is an uneducated negro preacher. With the pennies and nickels and dimes and with his own labor added thereto, he constructed a little church. He fills the church with members of his race whenever he has an opportunity, and covers all expenses of conducting that little church with the coins that the passengers throw at him through the window. He has saved many bad negroes from serious trouble and made respectable men of them." Should I ever again pass through Kingfisher, I would be glad to shake the old darky's hand. In his humble, ignorant way, he fulfills a sacred mission upon earth. In his humble capacity he serves his race, and in his self-sacrificing work he serves God.

That day being "Oklahoma Day" during the state fair week, the Governor was not at his executive office. Mr. Englesman, who had



## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

made the appointment and who had wired to H. Appelman at Tulsa, to advise me to come to Oklahoma City, informed me that there was a miscalculation of the train schedules. I nevertheless left a memorandum for the Governor, a second copy of which I mailed to him; and the fact that the two senators of the State of Oklahoma heartily endorsed and voted for the resolution, convinced me that my trip to Oklahoma City was not in vain.

Upon my return to Kansas City I addressed the following memorandum to Governor McKelvie of Nebraska:

"612-14 Massachusetts Bldg.,  
Kansas City, Mo.,  
September 29, 1921.

Honorable Samuel R. McKelvie,  
Governor of State of Nebraska,  
Lincoln, Nebr.

My dear Governor:

The substance of what I said during our interview was as follows:

"The present situation of the European Jewry, with particular reference to the war refugees who, as a result of the newly created boundaries within the former Russian and Austria-Hungarian empires, have become men without a country, is so tragic that unless im-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

mediate relief comes, only relief by death can be looked forward to by them.

Great Britain, on November 2, 1917, through the Rt. Honorable Arthur Balfour, the Foreign Minister, made a promise to the Jewish people to give them Palestine as a national homeland. At San Remo, Italy, on April 24, 1920, the League of Nations made a decision which endorsed the Balfour Declaration, and named Great Britain as the mandatory power over Palestine. You, my dear Governor, know full well that our own Government has protested all mandates, which of course is interpreted to include also the Palestine mandate.

Insofar as Turkey is concerned, it was not officially an enemy country of the United States. We have never declared war against that government. Poland was recognized by our Government, although Russia was an ally; Rumania, too, was recognized, although Bessarabia is former Russian territory; thus there can be no complications, insofar as our Government is concerned, in endorsing or in expressing itself in sympathy with the Balfour Declaration to make Palestine the Jewish national homeland.

Such action on the part of our Government can be accomplished in either of two ways: (a) through a resolution in the United States Sen-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

ate; (b) through the Department of State in the usual diplomatic manner. In order to enlist the sympathy of the Senators of the State of Nebraska towards such a resolution, should it be presented, or in order to have their great influence to support such a request from our State Department, you, my dear Governor, are the one to recommend it to the Senators of your State.\*

Senator Charles Curtis, who on the recommendation of Governor Henry J. Allen of the State of Kansas, and Senator Selden P. Spencer, on the recommendation of Governor Arthur M. Hyde of Missouri, are active in this matter, and I hope that with your mighty influence the Senators of the State of Nebraska will be of material aid in bringing about the success of this movement.

Thanking you most heartily for the kind courtesy in receiving me and for the very warm expressions toward my people, I beg leave to remain

Your most humble servant,  
(Signed) SIMON GLAZER,  
Rabbi of United Synagogues of  
Greater Kansas City."

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\*See pages 15-16.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

### CHAPTER VI.

#### INTERNAL COMPLICATIONS

During the week immediately preceding the executive session of the directors of the Southwestern Keren Hayesod, I definitely decided to disclose to the Zionist Organization of America part of the work done and part of the work in contemplation. The American delegation to the Carlsbad Congress at that time had not yet returned. Mr. Bernard G. Richards, Executive Secretary of the American Jewish Congress, had been named executive secretary of the temporary organization of the Keren Hayesod. Knowing his sterling character and scientific knowledge of the subject, I decided to address to him the following communication:

“Office of United Synagogues

612-14 Massachusetts Bldg.

Kansas City, Mo.

September 21, 1921.

Mr. Bernard G. Richards,

Secretary, Executive Committee, Keren

Hayesod,

50 Union Square,

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Richards:

While at New York, before the departure of the American delegation to the Carlsbad Congress, Conheim, Goldberg and I talked over the Zionist political situation. They were then anticipating that the Palestine mandate would be taken up at the pending Geneva conference of the League of Nations.

By appointment I met Conheim and Goldberg at the Commodore Hotel, where the matter was fully entered into.

Coming home, I decided to initiate a movement to improve the situation of the Palestine mandate. I proceeded to Topeka, Kans., and found Governor Henry J. Allen of the State of Kansas in sympathy with our movement.

I have done nothing of a decisive character, but I have gained very powerful friends for our Cause.

Upon the arrival of the Administrative Committee, particularly of the Washington commission appointed at the Carlsbad Congress, please show them this communication. Until that time I may have something more definite.

I believe that Senator Curtis will do all in his power, and he will be backed up by Senator Cummins. Moreover, we have still another important friend, and that is Senator James A.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Reed of Missouri. He is a Democrat, but at odds with the regular Democrats. He is an anti-League-of-Nations man and among the irreconcilable group; but his friendship for the Jewish people is boundless.

Trusting that this will be of service to our common cause, I remain

Yours for the rebuilding of Zion,

(Signed) SIMON GLAZER,

Rabbi of United Synagogues of

SG:DC Greater Kansas City."

[Enclosures]

Mr. Richards replied as follows:

"50 Union Square

New York City

September 26, 1921.

Rabbi Simon Glazer,

612-14 Massachusetts Bldg.,

Kansas City, Mo.

My dear Rabbi Glazer:

I received your registered letter of the 21st inst., together with enclosures, and I read the same with the greatest interest. I feel sure that your efforts and the connections which you have made are bound to be of great value to us in the near future.

In the absence of Messrs. Lipsky, Conheim, Schweitzer and the other gentlemen, Mr. Mor-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

ris Rothenberg has been corresponding with Washington and looking after all such matters, and I am therefore referring your communication with copies of letters to him. He will accordingly advise you as to what should be done further; and I can assure you that he will exercise every care in handling this matter.

With best wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) B. G. RICHARDS."

This letter reached my office during my absence in Lincoln, Nebr., and Oklahoma City, Okla., and it was the first intimation of real complications. At the conference with Goldberg and Conheim in New York, no mention was made to me of any political work carried on in Washington; much less did I know that Morris Rothenberg was in correspondence with anyone there. This being the state of affairs, I decided to await the promised communication. It reached me a day or two after my return to Kansas City.

"Zionist Organization of America

55 Fifth Avenue

New York

September 28, 1921.

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
612-14 Massachusetts Bldg.,

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Kansas City, Mo.

My dear Rabbi Glazer:

Your letter of September 21st with enclosures, addressed to Mr. Bernard G. Richards, was referred by him to me.

I am in charge of administrative matters together with the *ad interim* Administrative Committee, during the absence of members of the regular Administrative Committee in Europe.

I have carefully gone over the correspondence and I feel that you have rendered a valuable service to the organization in opening up channels which may be very useful in the future. \* \* \*

At any rate we should await the return of our delegation from Europe, (which will be within the next ten days) for a thorough discussion of the entire situation in the light of additional information which they undoubtedly possess. I shall communicate with you again immediately thereafter; in the meantime, I desire to express to you our appreciation of your efforts and the service you have rendered in eliciting the sympathy toward our movement of such important and influential men.

Sincerely yours,

MR:FF (Signed) MORRIS ROTHENBERG."

Upon receipt of this letter, I at once decided to prevent any possible complications, fully



## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

realizing that the character of the work carried on at Washington was neither decisive nor practical, as it is now well known both to the Zionist Organization and to Rothenberg himself. My first step in that direction was to outline the full plan of a Palestine resolution to Mr. Richards.

“Office of United Synagogues,  
612-14 Massachusetts Bldg.,  
Kansas City, Mo.

September 29, 1921.

Mr. Bernard G. Richards,  
Secretary Executive Committee,

Keren Hayesod,  
50 Union Square,  
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Richards:

Upon receipt of this letter, please communicate with Mr. Rothenberg and ask him to write to me at once what measures were taken at Washington. I do not wish to close the way for anybody else when working for an identical purpose. Having made a promise to Messrs. Conheim and Goldberg, I had to adopt a certain method which fortunately is developing very favorably. \* \* \*

Senator Curtis of Kansas is ready to draft and present a resolution in the United States

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Senate. Show this letter to Mr. Rothenberg; but please ask him to refrain from doing anything in reference thereto until the Carlsbad delegation will arrive. Then we will have a conference together and map out a program for unified action. I will have to be in Washington whenever Zionist matters will be taken up, due to the fact that my name was mentioned to the Senators.

Yours, with the blessings of a happy and prosperous New Year,

For a rebuilt Zion,

SG:MP

(Signed) SIMON GLAZER,  
Rabbi of United Synagogues  
of Greater Kansas City."

My reply to the first letter of Mr. Rothenberg was as follows:

"Office of United Synagogues,  
612-14 Massachusetts Bldg.,  
Kansas City, Mo.

October 2, 1921.

Mr. Morris Rothenberg,  
Ad Interim Chairman,  
Administrative Committee,  
Zionist Organization of America,  
55 Fifth Ave.,  
New York, N. Y.  
Dear Mr. Rothenberg:

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Yours of the 28th ult. duly received. At the very outstart, I wish to put your mind at rest. Senator Curtis of Kansas is in charge of the whole matter, and no step will be taken unless the full assurance of our State Department and President Harding for the complete success will be given beforehand. The course proposed by me and approved by my friends is either along the line of an open resolution in the Senate, or through diplomatic channels. *This was done on purpose, so as to be able to prevent any premature move on the part of anyone who is real friendly.*

In this connection, I wish to state that I have written this additional information to Mr. Bernard G. Richards, not knowing at the time that you are in charge of administrative matters. My last visit to New York was for the purpose of conferring with the men who are in charge of such matters. I discussed the whole situation with Messrs. Conheim, and Goldberg. They have asked me to open new channels of helpfulness. I may, within the next few days, be able to give you additional information of a still more positive character. I need not tell you that the whole matter requires caution and discretion, as we have active enemies right in the United States. You may say for me to the Carlsbad Congress com-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

mission that I am ready, upon receipt of a telegram, to come either to New York or Washington, if such a step will be deemed advisable.

Wishing you a happy and prosperous New Year, I beg leave to remain

Yours for a rebuilt Zion,

SG:DB

(Signed) SIMON GLAZER,  
Rabbi of United Synagogues  
of Greater Kansas City."

Mr. Rothenberg's reply to me was as follows :

"Law Offices of Morris Rothenberg  
5 Beekman Street,  
New York.

October 8, 1921.

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
Kansas City, Mo.

My dear Rabbi Glazer:

I have received your letter of October 2nd and have also seen your letter of September 29th to Mr. Richards. I am certainly gratified at the results you have obtained in favorably interesting such influential persons in our cause, and I have no doubt that it will serve the greatest usefulness to us in the future. I am also very glad to note what you say that no resolution will be introduced in the United States Senate until full consultation is had with

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

our returning delegation as well as the visiting delegation to America. I am very sure that when we shall meet in New York and we shall have a thorough discussion of the matter, such a course will be thought most desirable.

Wishing you a very happy New Year and assuring you my personal appreciation of your efforts, I am

Sincerely yours,

MR:FF (Signed) MORRIS ROTHENBERG."

During this exchange of communications with the acting head of the Administrative Committee, the Zionist delegation in Carlsbad were entirely uninformed as to the work being done here and the progress made. The delegates came back in a very nervous state of mind. The triumph of Weizmann at the Carlsbad Congress, which was in a measure due to the great influence of the American delegation, naturally had a great deal to do with the state of mind of every delegate present at the Congress.

Political matters in Zionism have always been attended to, insofar as Europe was concerned, not only secretly, but in a way to keep it apart from every other work in connection with Zionism. The *piece de resistance* in the sanctum sanctorum of the World Zionist Execu-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

tive Committee, was the protest against all mandates filed by the American State Department. The situation created by the so-called split in the ranks between the Mack-Brandeis faction and the Keren Hayesod group in the Zionist Organization of America by that time had taken second place in the minds of the Zionist leaders.

Not to anticipate events, it is here necessary to state that the whole amount of work on the political sphere which the Zionist Organization of America had done up until that time amounted to the information contained in bulletins issued and the agenda published by the American State Department, which was available to every citizen that wanted to read them.

Louis Lipsky, upon his return from Carlsbad, seeing the correspondence between Richards, Rothenberg and myself, addressed to me the following letter:

"Zionist Organization of America  
55 Fifth Avenue,  
New York.

October 9, 1921.

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
612-14 Massachusetts Bldg.,  
Kansas City, Mo.  
My dear Rabbi Glazer:

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Mr. Rothenberg has been kind enough to let me see the correspondence which you have carried on with him regarding your activities in Washington.\*

We have come back from Carlsbad with a feeling that a great deal of care must be exercised in all political matters.

Unless the situation is thoroughly understood, unwittingly a mistake will be made. We appreciate all you have done and are thankful to you for it, \* \* \* and would ask you to let us have copies of the letters that you have received from various persons.

With best wishes for the New Year, I am

Very cordially yours,

LL:LM

(Signed) LOUIS LIPSKY,  
General Secretary."

From the tone of this letter, particularly from the omitted two sentences, I sensed a very complicated situation within the Zionist Administrative Committee. There was no chairman elected at the Cleveland Convention. A chairman was named at every meeting; thus, it became evident to me that someone within the Administrative Committee either failed to grasp the situation and the work outlined, or was kept in the dark for good reasons. Louis

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\*Mr Louis Lipsky was either misinformed or too nervous to look into the correspondence correctly, as at no time was there any mention made regarding activities in Washington.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Lipsky evidently did not know of the request made upon me by Dr. Smarya Levin, Conheim, and Goldberg. I wired to Abraham Goldberg, asking him to go over the correspondence with Rothenberg and Richards. Goldberg replied as follows:

“Zionist Organization of America  
55 Fifth Avenue,  
New York.

October 14, 1921.

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
612 Massachusetts Bldg.,  
Kansas City, Mo.

My dear Rabbi Glazer:

Your telegram of October 13th was duly received, and I thank you very much for the care with which you attend to your mission.

I am just going over the correspondence that you had with Mr. Rothenberg and Mr. Richards. I will write to you more fully with regards to this matter after the holidays.

I put myself in communication with our friends in Washington, and I expect some definite answer from them very soon.\* In any case, I am glad to hear that you are well, and I would be very grateful to you if you will

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\*Mr. Goldberg failed in his efforts along this line, for when I met him on November 17th at Washington, he had neither information nor plan, save only that of inviting some notable to a great Keren Hayesod demonstration in New York.



## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

drop me a note informing me of how the work of the Keren Hayesod is proceeding in your district and how our friends are getting along.

With best regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

AG:FF

(Signed) ABRAHAM GOLDBERG."

The Jewish press reports of the Zionist situation were alarming at the time. This added to the already complicated situation both as regards the state of mind brought along by the Zionist delegation from the Carlsbad Congress and as regards the so-called "care to be exercised" in making a further move.

My reply to Lipsky was as follows :

"Office of United Synagogues,  
612-14 Massachusetts Bldg.,  
Kansas City, Mo.

October 23, 1921.

My dear Mr. Lipsky :

Your letter dated the 9th inst. and mailed the 19th was duly received. I note what you say and fully agree with you that the situation requires the greatest amount of discretion. Moreover, when I saw that my mission was already accomplished, I wrote to both Rothenberg and Goldberg that I am ready to turn over

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

all correspondence to the general office and eliminate myself entirely. What I did was with the full knowledge and approval of the members of the Administrative Committee charged with such matters.

The question of the mandate, insofar as the American Government is concerned, is no longer a question of passive consent, but of active assistance. *I may state that Senator Curtis has cleared the entire situation for all times.* He is backed up by Senator Spencer of Missouri. Governor Hyde of Missouri, Governor McKelvie of Nebraska and Governor Allen of Kansas are pledged to help in every possible way.

If you wish to take charge of the whole matter, please meet me any time at Washington or at Topeka, Kans., and I will turn over to you the entire matter which will enable you to direct all work yourself.

Trusting to hear from you, I am

Yours for a rebuilt Zion,

(Signed) SIMON GLAZER,  
Rabbi, United Synagogues of  
Greater Kansas City."

Evidently, Lipsky and his associates on the Zionist Administrative Committee were disinclined to assume the responsibility just then.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

There were many details to work out and still more complications to overcome. Recognizing these facts, Lipsky's reply to me was not only appreciative and courteous, but a direct invitation to carry on the work.\*

This reply removed all complications from within, as I had then the complete sanction of the Zionist Organization of America to carry on the work unhampered and unobstructed.

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\*See facsimile of his letter dated October 26, 1921, on page 31

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

### CHAPTER VII.

#### EXTERNAL COMPLICATIONS.

Almost two months' time was spent in tracing complications and untangling them. At no time have I feared the consequences of a failure; but I dreaded at all times the consequences of carelessness. I left nothing to chance and took everything under advisement before arriving to a conclusion. *I saw clearly the triumph of Zionism in a Senate resolution. Hitherto, all political work of Zionism was confined within a limited circle of foreign ministers, representatives of different governments and chancelleries. No parliament in the world had as yet openly spoken concerning Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people.* The Jewish question came up during the Versailles peace conference, with all its manifold complexities and perplexities. Every newly-created state had a Jewish question. In general, the Jewish question came up before that conference under the terms of "minority rights," or "the principle of self-determination." The formal action at San Remo, Italy, on the question of Zionism was only one phase resulting from the treaty

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

of Versailles, insofar as mandatory territories were concerned. Even in the British Parliament, no formal discussion had yet taken place concerning Palestine as a Jewish national homeland.

I knew the British viewpoint in reference to the several nationals inhabiting its widely scattered colonial possessions. During the entire period of the war, with the sole exception of the last six months, I lived under the British flag. At no time, ever since the Balfour Declaration, did I believe, nor do I believe now, that Great Britain will build up Palestine, develop it, give it its protection, establish a safe government, defend it from attacks of the Moslem, and then turn it over to the Zionists or to any of their groups and tell them, "Here is a present to the Jewish people; take over the government and establish yourself as an independent state." Nor, on the other hand, have I believed, nor do I believe now, that Great Britain will retain Palestine for all times as a crown colony. That is not the history of the British colonial possessions. Every nation, Christian and Mohammedan, have a common interest in Palestine. *I believe now, as I have believed all my life, that only God will give Palestine to the Jewish people to have it as really their own.*

When the question of conscription came up,

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

the several colonial governments wanted favorable comment, favorable reports and favorable action from every element of the population. Great Britain, as the most experienced colonial power, knew the psychological effect upon the world's Jewry of a promise to re-establish the Jewish nation in Palestine. The majority of the people throughout the world interpreted the Balfour Declaration as implying the establishment of a complete independent Jewish state in Palestine. The leaders of Zionism, particularly in Great Britain, knew the real meaning of the Balfour Declaration, which is far from meaning just that.

Being an impartial student of current events, it was an easy matter to sum up the political situation, with particular reference to the mandatory question. America—or rather the former Wilson administration—will go down in history as the real sponsors of the League of Nations. America did not join the League of Nations. It is strong enough by itself to carry out its aims and objects and purposes, without submitting any of them to the European or Asiatic statesmen who compose the personnel of the League of Nations. Because of this strong position politically, and because of the manifold strength America is able to exhibit economically, most of the peoples of the earth

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

naturally turn toward America. Every student of the events of the last decade can readily see that America is the only country in the world today whose voice is heard everywhere.

Events in Palestine as reflected by the action and propaganda of the Arab population there, created quite a respectable size of opposition in Great Britain to the Lloyd George-Balfour-Palestine policy. Moreover, the fact that the Jews demanded in every newly-created state minority rights, added to the everlasting prejudice against them had brought about an avalanche of anti-Semitic agitation throughout the world. The Jews were put on the defensive everywhere. A new line of apologetics had to be constructed since the Treaty of Versailles. No country remained free from anti-Semitic outbreaks. The reports from Bolshevik Russia, particularly in the Ukraine, that hundreds of thousands of Jews were massacred, driven out from their homes and robbed of their last belongings, contributed no mean proportion to the propaganda against the Jews. A people, pogromized, outlawed in many states, and massacred as if it were a threatened menace, could not continue to occupy a respectable opinion in the minds of even the non-Jewbaiting elements. For a time it looked that the world will be divided in two parties—Jewbaiters and non-Jewbait-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

ers—leaving no room for Jewish friends.

The logical solution to a problem of this kind, as it appeared to me, was not press-agitation, counter-propaganda, mass meetings or apologetics. Only one voice could be heard throughout the entire world; that voice belonged to America. I believed in America; I never for a moment doubted Americanism. The only question which remained in my mind was, How can the American people themselves listen to a voice which would bring about the only remedy to the newly-created dangerous situation? *It appeared to me that a resolution in the United States Senate would receive the attention of the whole American people.* The justice of the cause of the Jew would be recognized. The Christian world would be reminded of the great things ancient Israel achieved. The newly-created prejudice and hatred would gradually disappear; instead, a nation with the balance of justice in its hand would sit in judgment, to either liberate or doom a people that had withstood all attacks throughout the centuries.

I could not for an instant believe that, when the question of Palestine would come up in the United States Senate, American Senators would vote it down. I could no more believe that than I can now imagine that the American



## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Senate would vote to take away the independence of Cuba or re-establish slavery. The history of America and Americanism is one continuous chapter of progress. Moreover, means employed and details arranged were invariably with pure motives back of them.

Thus, being convinced in my own belief that there is but one result possible, I dreaded most the least miscalculation in the method to be employed. I managed, with the help of God, to get the advice and consent to my plan from leading statesmen. It so happened that, due to the ordinary routine of our State Department, many details had to be worked out and obstacles removed before this particular question could be taken up. This fact stood out above everything else during a period of almost two months. I took every possible element of danger in consideration, and finally arrived to one conclusion: a direct appeal to the President, which was as follows:

“Office of United Synagogues  
612-14 Massachusetts Bldg.,  
Kansas City, Mo.

September 30, 1921.

President Warren G. Harding,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Knowing your interest in and sympathy for the Jewish people, may I not on this, the eve of the Jewish religious New Year, pray to you to take under consideration the unhappy situation of the Jewish people, with particular reference to the refugees of the former war zones which are now independent states. Under existing conditions, with so many newly-created boundary lines within the former Russian and Austria-Hungarian countries, their position is identical with that of a man without a country.

The British Government, through Foreign Minister Arthur Balfour, on November 2, 1917, expressed themselves favorable to the project of establishing a national homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine. On April 24, 1920, at San Remo, Italy, Great Britain was created the mandatory power over Palestine with a view of carrying out the proposal of the Balfour Declaration.

But conditions have changed. The League of Nations prudently deferred the matter of ratifying mandates until the powerful voice of America will be heard on the question. Meantime, the agony of the Jewish refugees, whose sole hope had been directed Zionward, begs description. To ameliorate this condition, your influence is indispensable.

Since the Balfour Declaration, the World

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Zionist Organization was recognized as *the agency* to prepare Palestine for a large Jewish immigration. Extensive plans for the irrigation, afforestation and electrification have been made. More than ten thousand pioneers are already at work building roads and homes. The interpretation of the delay of the ratification of the British mandate given by the Jewish enemies—and God knows that there are many of that clan—reacts very unfavorably and has made the situation critical.

Thus, it becomes obvious that unless America, through you, gives its assent, the whole project will fail. And, Mr. President, I will continue to pray.

Your most humble servant,  
SG:DC (Signed) SIMON GLAZER,  
Rabbi of United Synagogues  
of Greater Kansas City."

The President's reply\* through Secretary Christian was as follows:

"The White House,  
Washington.

October 13, 1921.

My dear Rabbi Glazer:

The President directs me to acknowledge the

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\*See facsimile of letter on page 7.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

receipt of your letter of September 30th, and to call attention to the fact that the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, known as the Treaty of Sevres, has not come into effect and that, therefore, such matters as the ratification of mandates and other readjustments affecting the former Ottoman Empire cannot for the moment be given definitive action.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) GEO. B. CHRISTIAN, JR.

Secretary to the President.

Rabbi Simon Glazer,  
612 Massachusetts Building,  
Kansas City, Missouri."

This letter, negative though it appears on its face, cleared the atmosphere completely and permitted further action in order to remove any possible complications. It now became apparent to me that the only stumbling-block on the path of a Palestine resolution in the Senate was the Treaty of Sevres, which had not been issued. Contrary to the expectations and to the published promises of the Executive of the World Zionist, the conference at Geneva did not take up the question of the Palestine mandate. Additional light on the situation had to

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

be gotten before any further step could be taken.

Senator Curtis, in his letter of October 17, 1921,\* informed me that the matter was taken up by him with Secretary of State Hughes, which proved to be the missing link of the whole chain of events. I recognized that there was a possibility of complications, but neither in the American State Department nor in the United States Senate. This was due to the complicated situation in Europe, particularly the interpretation of what a national homeland in Palestine means.

Unexpectedly, the chain of events was augmented by the receipt of a telegram from a former member of the Polish Saim named Noah Prilutsky. The contents of the telegram was innocent enough. It stated that he, having been a personal friend of my late brother-in-law, Rabbi Bernard Cantor,\*\* desires to come to Kansas City in the interest of Ukrainian relief, and that he expects to raise in Kansas City, through my influence, at least fifty thousand dollars for that purpose. Prilutsky came to Kansas City, but not at my invitation. The local Ukrainian Relief Society, however, wanted my participation in their efforts to raise a substantial sum for the Prilutsky mission. I had

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\*See Chapter VIII, Page 163

\*\*Who was killed by the Bolsheviks while on a relief mission in Ukraine.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

several lengthy interviews with Prilutsky. I desired to gather as much information as possible concerning the Zionist situation in Poland; and he, being a well-informed man with an ambition to promote his political aspirations, I calculated would be in a position to clear up certain matters which still remained clouded in my mind.

During one of the interviews, drifting from one subject to another, I discovered that Prilutsky represented an element in the Polish Jewry, the existence of which was entirely unfamiliar to me. That element is known as the *Volkist* party. I frankly confess that my ignorance inspired me with fear, for Prilutsky had told me that he intended to see important persons at Washington, and that above all, his sole mission in this country was to get to see the President of the United States and have an interview with him. For the first time, I had a real interpretation of the term "*Diaspora nationalism*."

I am forced to chronicle the inglorious failure of the Prilutsky mission in Kansas City. The good people of my neighboring city of St. Joseph, reading these pages, will learn the reason I disappointed them by not appearing to speak at the Prilutsky meeting there. I sensed danger, not only to the Zionist cause, but to the

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Polish Jewry, particularly to the Jews of the city of Vilna.

The Prilutsky way of thinking and of promoting political interests cannot be recommended in America. I am praying that it shall never succeed in Europe.

The effect that the unexpected overwhelming information as regards European conditions had upon me was crystallized in my determination to redouble my efforts and remove all external complications.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

### CHAPTER VIII.

#### SENATOR CURTIS

Senator Spencer said to me: "When you see me or any other man on the Senate floor, you see a senator; but when you see him (pointing at Senator Curtis) you are in the presence of a power, a force."

United States Senator Charles Curtis is a power. Only one who is a power can possess such nobility of character. There is no man in American life more free from prejudice than Senator Curtis. When every detail in connection with the Palestine Resolution will have been written, Senator Curtis will go down in Jewish history as one of the great champions of Israel.

Governor Henry J. Allen of Kansas introduced the subject of a Palestine Resolution to Senator Curtis during the early part of September, 1921. From that day until the Palestine resolution as introduced by Senator Lodge was passed, Senator Curtis continued to champion the cause of Jewish nationalism without interruption. Several facsimiles of his letters and a facsimile of his telegram calling me to



## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Washington, appear in this work.\* He did many more things before the last trace of complications was removed. But this end of the work is a glorious chapter of American diplomacy which can not be recorded here. The most remote possibility of opposition he foresaw and prevented its coming to light. Unfortunately, I am not privileged to publish the communications between Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes and Senator Curtis. Some day they will be published and very much light will be thrown on the subject. But whatever communications I am privileged to publish are of historic value. My first letter to Senator Curtis was as follows:

“Office of United Synagogues,  
612-14 Massachusetts Bldg.,  
Kansas City, Mo.

September 20, 1921.

Honorable Charles Curtis,  
United States Senator,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

Governor Allen was kind enough to have sent to me your very gracious letter to him in reference to a resolution of sympathy with the Jewish people in their efforts to establish a

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\*See pages 21-25.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

national homeland in Palestine. I felt very happy reading your heartfelt expressions in your letter to Governor Allen. As long as America will have men with such broad views, we need fear no foe.

As to the phraseology of the resolution, if such a resolution will be found to be practical, in order to avoid complications, I think you, my dear Senator, should be the only one to draft it. \* \* \*

One or two points I must make clear to you. Our country not being a member of the League of Nations and our Government having adopted a policy regarding all mandates, as you well know, is not in a position to ratify the mandate as such. There are at present at the very least three million Jews throughout the European countries who can claim no country as their home and who are not claimed by any country either as citizens or subjects. The situation is very critical. I knew that Governor Allen is a big-hearted American. My life-long friend, Senator Albert B. Cummins, will lend you all assistance possible. You may talk the matter over with him. He is a friend and a great American, as you well know. \* \* \*

America is the only country that can accom-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

plish it, and I have no doubt that with your help, we will succeed.

Believe me, my dear Senator

Your most humble servant,

SG:DC

(Signed) SIMON GLAZER,  
Rabbi of United Synagogues  
of United Synagogues."

Senator Curtis replied as follows:

"United States Senate  
Committee on Indian Affairs.

September 23, 1921.

My dear Rabbi Glazer:

Your letter came duly to hand, and I assure you it will give me great pleasure to talk with Secretary Hughes at the first opportunity, in regard to the resolution of sympathy with the Jewish people. Our committee meets every morning a little after 10:00 and the session opens at 12:00, which makes it almost impossible for me to see the Secretary of State.\* However, as soon as I get a little time, I will gladly call upon him and go over the situation with him fully. You may rest assured that I will do all I can to assist.

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) CHARLES CURTIS."

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\*Senator Curtis, being the Republican whip in the Senate, must be present during the whole time of every session in the Senate.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Senator Curtis, as it appears from the following letter, carried out his promise:

“United States Senate  
Committee on Indian Affairs.

October 17, 1921.

My dear Rabbi Glazer:

After receiving your letter I prepared a joint resolution expressing sympathy for the Jewish people in their efforts to establish a national homeland in Palestine.

I took it to the State Department and went over the matter. \* \* \*

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) CHARLES CURTIS.”

When this letter reached me, I was overwhelmed with joy. I felt that a chapter of glorious history was written. The spirit of friendliness, justice, humanity and real Americanism back of the whole work so filled my heart that it took me an entire day to gather my thoughts and draft a letter in reply, which was as follows:

“Office of United Synagogues,  
612-14 Massachusetts Bldg.,  
Kansas City, Mo.

October 20, 1921.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Senator Charles Curtis,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Curtis:

I beg leave to acknowledge receipt of your most kind letter of the 17th inst. Permit me to state: The Jewish people in all its history will not forget what you have done and are trying to do. Foreign Minister Arthur Balfour furthered the great historical movement to restore Palestine to the Jewish people by the Declaration now bearing his name; and you, as I see, have been destined by Almighty God to bring the whole matter to a successful goal. I am happy in the knowledge that you have framed a resolution with the intention of bringing it before Congress.

I would highly appreciate to have a copy of the resolution, autographed by yourself, for the sake of preserving it in Jewish history.\*

I note that your powerful influence will bring about the active participation of our State Department in promoting the establishment of a national homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine. Your proposal in itself had already as much influence as if the resolution had been passed by the Congress. May the Almighty God continue to shower His favors upon you for

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\*The resolution as drafted by Senator Curtis, autographed by him, as requested in this letter, I handed to Mr. Nahum Sokolow, Chairman of Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

the sake of our own great country and for the sake of the downtrodden people of Israel.

I see by the latest reports that God has been with you and that you have been lifted to an eminent position in the most powerful body of our country.\*\*

Your humble servant,

(Signed) SIMON GLAZER,  
Rabbi of United Synagogues  
of Greater Kansas City."

Summarizing the situation, I found:

(a) The President had become familiarized with the whole question;

(b) The State Department, for the first time in American history, had received a direct call for help from a powerful source in the United States Senate;

(c) Several eminent statesmen, Governors of great states, became interested to the extent of lending every help to bring about a solution to the Jewish problem;

(d) The Zionist Organization of America, as well as the World Zionist Organization, knowing at this time every detail in connection with this work, could not and did not evolve any better plan;

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\*\*Senator Curtis had then been named chairman of the Senate Rules Committee.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

(e) No one else was in a position to take up the work should I leave it; or start in anew from another angle.

Further work and redoubled efforts was the only course left open for me. I no longer feared complications, but I dreaded stagnation. While the whole question was still fresh in the minds of the President, the Secretary of State and several of the most influential Senators, I failed to see any other course than that of proceeding to Washington and bringing the whole question to such a point where the mere formality of bringing the resolution would be left to be done.

The chief difficulty in connection with such a plan was the pending Washington Disarmament Conference, which was to be opened on November 11th. To go to Washington merely to see one or two Senators, regardless of how influential they are, I knew would be futile. I therefore mapped out the program to include seeing the President, the Secretary of State and several friends in the United States Senate, thereby removing the least trace of any objection to the presentation of a resolution favoring Palestine as a national homeland for the Jewish people, should this be the only course left. To have access to the President and to the Secretary of State during the Disarmament

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Conference was not an easy matter to accomplish. I realized it and therefore prepared myself accordingly.

I telegraphed to Senator Curtis and wrote to Governor Allen. On November 14th I received the following telegram:

"Rabbi Simon Glazer  
Rabbi United Synagogues  
Greater Kansas City  
Kansas City, Mo.

President Harding will see you Friday morning this week at ten thirty.

(Signed) CHARLES CURTIS."\*

From that moment onward until the Palestine resolution passed the United States Senate, whenever a serious question came up, Senator Curtis was ever ready to help. He was the first great American to take this matter up with the Department of State. He drafted the resolution, the substance of which was embodied in the Lodge resolution. He cleared the atmosphere and paved the way. His work was monumental and will remain a glorious chapter of Jewish history.

*After all complications, obstructions, impediments and causes of accidents were removed,*

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\*Facsimile of this telegram appears on Page 21.



## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

*and the question of a resolution was reduced to a mere formality as to who should present it, Senator Lodge, as the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, undertook to do it. The Curtis spirit best appears in the following letter:*

“United States Senate  
Committee on Rules  
Charles Curtis, Chairman.

April 20, 1922.

My dear Rabbi Glazer:

I have your wire and note what you say in regard to the Lodge Resolution. I will gladly present your wire to Senator Lodge and will again urge him to ask for early action upon his resolution. I have already spoken to him in regard to it.

You may rest assured, it will give me pleasure to do all I can in securing early action.

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,  
(Signed) CHARLES CURTIS.”

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

### CHAPTER IX.

#### AT WASHINGTON

On my way to the Capitol I met Louis Lipsky at Chicago with whom I conferred regarding the latest developments. Max Shulman, being a member of the Greater Actions Committee of the World Zionist Organization and a member of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, participated in the conference. Both of them were, to say the least, overwhelmed with joy. I urged to have Nahum Sokolow, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization, meet me at Washington. Lipsky undertook to wire to New York to have the meeting arranged.\*

I arrived in Washington early Thursday morning, November 17, 1921. Judge Henry J. Dannenbaum, Abraham Goldberg and Max Rhoades, representative of the Jewish Correspondence Bureau at Washington, met me late that afternoon. By that time I had already outlined my course of action. Senator Spencer was of the greatest help to me in arranging this matter. I was received by Senator Spencer

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\*See Page 26

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

most cordially, and when I laid the matter before him, he 'phoned to the State Department, requesting an appointment for me with the Secretary of State.

The Disarmament Conference at that time was in full swing, with Secretary of State Hughes as the central figure. The State Department informed Senator Spencer that the appointment would be made later that afternoon or during the evening. Senator Spencer promised to 'phone the confirmation of the appointment. It so happened that during the conference with Dannenbaum, Goldberg and Rhoades, I was called up by Senator Spencer, who informed me that Under-Secretary of State, Henry P. Fletcher, would see me together with a delegation Tuesday morning, the 22nd. Judge Dannenbaum is not a very strong man physically. When he overheard the conversation between Senator Spencer and myself, his heart failed him considerably and we had to interrupt our conference, so as to enable him to get his bearings again. Dannenbaum left for New York to impart the latest developments to Nahum Sokolow.\* Goldberg remained with me, and we spent the better part of that night in mapping out a detailed program.

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\*See Page 27.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Before retiring for the night, I made an analysis of all I had learned from Dannenbaum and Goldberg. Summing it up, I reduced it to two sentences: (a) The World Zionist Organization recognized that the political situation during and after the Carlsbad Congress was very critical, with the sole hope of American assistance in view; (b) the Zionist Organization of America, with the exception of the work done at Kansas City in the office of the United Synagogues, had no program of its own by which to obtain the sorely needed American help.

The greatest drawback up until November 18, 1921, in connection with political Zionist work in America was, that the only thing ever requested of the leading statesmen of America was a mere expression of sympathy. Such a sympathetic expression being obtained, it was broadcasted through the press throughout the country, and there the matter ended. In line with this method of procedure it had been suggested to me that during my interview with the President, I should obtain from him a promise, either to write a letter of sympathy to be read at a great New York Keren Hayesoc mass meeting, or to invite him to come there to speak. I refused to become a committee or invitation. Moreover, I convinced Dannenbaum

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

and Goldberg that such a line of work must be ended right there and then, that the only work possible in the future is real action which would and should bring results. The American Republic must speak in no mistaken terms. Indeed, the opinion of every great American is of inestimable value; but for the purpose of bringing about an early solution to the complicated Palestine mandate problem, action of a different line entirely is required.

I finally reduced the nature of the subject to be discussed with the President to three fundamental principles:

(1) That only the Anglo-Saxon nations can understand the psychology of the Jew, they living under a system of government founded upon Biblical doctrines;

(2) Lord Balfour, being at Washington, can be informed that America is interested in opening new channels for Jewish immigration and therefore would encourage the principle enunciated by the British Government that Palestine become a national homeland for the Jewish people;

(3) That local complications, if such there may arise, can be best disposed of by public resolution in the Senate, with the complete approval of the State Department.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Senator Curtis, in his letter of introduction,\* requested the President to give me a "full and complete hearing." No man pleading the cause of a people ever had a better hearing than I received from President Harding. The President, being thoroughly democratic, enabled me to carry out my program of presenting the matter to him in the simplest manner. He was deeply interested, even moved, when I recited to him certain incidents in the pogromized section of the former Pale of Jewish settlement, particularly in the Ukraine.

The rest of events came to pass in due course, true to the program mapped out during that memorable interview.

A particular incident in a pogromized city, which affected a resident of Kansas City, who had died there a couple of years ago, supplied me the necessary cover with which to prevent premature publicity of the proposed course of action regarding the Palestine mandate. The Associated Press carried the report that the President had graciously authorized the admission of certain Ukrainian orphans, and in due course they were admitted to this country.

The same afternoon I saw Senator Curtis. The whole chain of events was a great triumph for the Senator. He was very happy to learn

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\*See Page 22.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

of the appointment at the State Department made by Senator Spencer.

Mr. Sokolow arrived in Washington Monday morning. The Zionist headquarters in New York was quite a busy center during those days. Abraham Goldberg personally transmitted the news to headquarters and came back with Mr. Nahum Sokolow. My conference with Mr. Sokolow was a very lengthy one. Above all, he was inspired with the resolution as drafted by Senator Curtis. He showed the resolution to Lord Balfour. In relating to me his interview with Lord Balfour and what the latter thought of the Curtis resolution, Mr. Sokolow quoted this Talmudic phrase: "*Raah t ha-M'ziah v'Nophal Oleha*" (he saw a treasure and grasped it).

As a matter of history, which in the light of events may become of the utmost importance, the Curtis resolution, as it was phrased, went much further than either the Balfour Declaration or the resolution as it was finally adopted. Mr. Sokolow retained in his possession the original Curtis resolution with the signature of Senator Curtis attached to it.

Senator Spencer, Nahum Sokolow, Abraham Goldberg and I had a long conference with Under-Secretary of State Henry P. Fletcher.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Tuesday, November 22, 1921. Senator Spencer's plea was the feature of the entire conference.

Senator Spencer is a Biblical student. He reads the Bible daily, and at one of our interviews told me that it takes just about sixty hours to read through the Bible from cover to cover. He rises early, and after reading the Bible, goes down to his office at the Senate executive building promptly at eight o'clock. No Biblical student could have summed up the case for Palestine better than Senator Spencer did at the State Department. He said: "The people of Israel will get Palestine with or without the consent of our State Department." This statement, in the light of Zionist events, will remain prophetic. Perhaps it was the first statement of its kind ever made by a Christian statesman. During the interview the whole situation was gone into thoroughly from every angle. All that was said I knew beforehand, but I also knew that every objectionable feature had already been removed.

Before going to the State Department, Mr. Sokolow informed me that the President already had seen Lord Balfour. I knew instinctively that President Harding found the solution to the problem and put it in operation.

Before my departure from Washington, I



## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

addressed the following communications to President Harding and Under-Secretary of State Fletcher:

“Hotel Washington  
Washington, D. C.

November 24, 1921.

Honorable Warren G. Harding,  
President of the United States,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

The Jewish people of the whole world were cheered mightily by learning the fact that you have graciously mentioned their cause to the Rt. Honorable Arthur Balfour, Chairman of the British delegation to the Disarmament Conference.

The Assistant Secretary of State, Honorable Henry P. Fletcher, on Tuesday last, made it clear to the Honorable Selden P. Spencer, United States Senator from Missouri, Mr. Nahum Sokolow, President of the Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization, Mr. Abraham Goldberg, Secretary of the Palestine Bureau, and myself, that the policy of an open door will apply also to Palestine. This statement of our State Department is of the greatest significance to the world's Jewry. With what our State Department is ready to

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

do, there remains not a shadow of a doubt that the future of the Jewish people in Palestine is secured.

Permit me to state to you, Mr. President, that the interest you are taking at this moment in the Jewish people will remain a glorious chapter in history. With the whole world as an audience, you are now so eloquently pleading for the fulfillment of the prophecy of Isaiah that "Nation shall lift no sword against nation." It is therefore in harmony with your work that you champion the cause of the people which gave birth to that idea. May the Wonder-working God of Israel grant you your own prayers in like grace as you did mine.

Yours, my dear Mr. President,  
very humble servant,

(Signed) SIMON GLAZER,  
Rabbi of United Synagogues of  
Greater Kansas City."

"Hotel Washington  
Washington, D. C.

November 24, 1921.

Honorable Henry P. Fletcher,  
Under Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Permit me to thank you, in the name of the

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

entire delegation presented to you by Senator Spencer for your most cordial and gracious reception on Tuesday last.

Your pronouncement of the policy of an open door in Palestine is second only to the doctrine enunciated by the late Secretary of State John Hay. The whole Christian world is interested in Palestine. Jew and Gentile alike, when praying, cannot help but connect their finest feelings with Palestine. Our own hope as Americans is to have our own dear country become a Palestine of the whole world. It is my fervent prayer that it may come true during our time. When you made this pronouncement, you may recall that I interrupted by expressing my thanks before your sentence was even concluded. I then realized that the soul of a great statesman was giving speech to his sacred thoughts.

With this policy now permanently established, the age-long dream of the Jewish people may be realized, and the millions of homeless refugees now roaming throughout Europe will then find rest in the ancient land of their fathers. As an American, I cannot feel different, because I can see the hand of God working through our Government to bring about this happy result. I know that there is hardly a thing of a material or economic nature

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

which America can want in Palestine, but that everything sacred to all of us is embodied in this doctrine and pronouncement by you, as it means very much to every individual family of America.

In this connection, I desire to state, should you or your experts of the Near East desire any additional information concerning Palestine, Mr. Abraham Goldberg, Secretary of the Palestine Bureau and a member of the Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, now residing in New York, will be glad to furnish it to your Department.

Thanking you again, I beg leave to remain, my dear Secretary,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) SIMON GLAZER,

Rabbi of United Synagogues of  
Greater Kansas City."

The day following the conference at the State Department the Associated Press carried dispatches throughout the country regarding the conference and connected my name with the delegation, stating that I had come to Washington in the interests of immigration. It is

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here necessary to state that I had requested the Zionist Organization of America and every member of its delegation to Washington to refrain from mentioning my name in connection with this work, fully realizing that the task had not yet been completed. I subsequently found out that the statement as given out was framed by Max Rhoades at the suggestion of Abraham Goldberg.

After introducing the representatives of the Zionist Organization of America to all friends at Washington, I knew that my task was completed. I handed to the representatives of the Zionist Organization of America copies of all documents, including copy of all interviews, fully knowing that it was only a question of a short time when the resolution would be formally introduced in the United States Senate.

Mr. Sokolow made a request upon me to continue corresponding with the different friends and carry on the remaining details in connection with the work up until the time that the resolution would be presented in the United States Senate.\*

Upon my return to Kansas City I continued to watch developments and was in touch with all friends who sponsored the movement of the

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\*See page 22.

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Palestine resolution, until the very end. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, presented the Palestine resolution. Senator Charles Curtis, as Chairman of the Rules Committee, reported it favorably without the least delay.

## CHAPTER X.

### AFTER THE RESOLUTION—WHAT?

President Harding kept his promise. The mandate was issued. American influence did it. The political goal of Zionism was attained. At least such is the general impression of the entire Jewry throughout the Diaspora.

Europe is still paralyzed; much more so most of the European Jewries. The desire of a majority of the Jewish people to leave their present miserable quarters in the ruined and semi-ruined European centers continues to gather up momentum. Perhaps they have Palestine in view as their future home. But like Jericho of old, the gates of Palestine are yet shut up and barred up. Of course, it is not anticipated that this condition will remain as a barrier to

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Jewish immigration in Palestine any great length of time. Nevertheless, it is a fact that everyone interested in solving the Jewish problem cannot afford to ignore.

Before the mandate was issued, the British Government published a White Paper, which interprets the Palestine mandate to mean that "There will be only one status of citizenship in Palestine, and that will be Palestinian." It also makes clear that "Any special position which the Zionist Executive may enjoy will not entitle it in any degree to share in the government of the country." The White Paper moreover makes it clear that "As to the Zionists, the heads of the Zionist Organization have given assurances that their activities will be carried on in accordance with the policy set out in the final statement, which, on the face of it, implies and virtually promises an abandonment of the plans for making Palestine a Jewish political state."

This being the state of affairs, Palestine for the present will be something less than a British Crown-colony, with this difference, however, that Jewish colonization and extensive improvements made by Jewish money will be permissible if not encouraged. The British White Paper reduces the Balfour Declaration,

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wherein the promise of a national homeland for the Jewish people is plainly stated, to that of a Jewish colonization plan in Palestine under liberal British laws, with special administrative privileges to the ecclesiastical heads of Judaism. Since the World, Zionist Organization, *the recognized agency to carry out the project of making Palestine a Jewish national homeland*, has made, or was forced to make, such a compromise, the present Executive cannot anticipate to continue to administer the affairs of Zionism. There was no need for such a surrender; surely not the abandonment of the fundamental principle. Weizmann was in hysteria from the very moment the Balfour Declaration was made. Ussischkin endeavored every effort to force his tyrannical attitude on all his colleagues and subordinates. Both of these men will have to be eliminated. Sokolow is more temperate than either of the two, but he is of a compromising nature, which makes it altogether improbable for him to be the successor of Weizmann.

The traditions of the American Government are such that they carry out all of the accepted American principles. The Palestine resolution, together with the great wave of American sympathy toward the establishment of a national homeland in Palestine, sooner or later



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will be carried out as it was originally planned and understood by the whole world.

A statement made to me by Nahum Sokolow after he had seen the Curtis resolution, which was to the effect that it went much further than the Balfour Declaration, convinced me at the time that the Zionist Executive Committee planned a compromise of far-reaching consequences.

The World Zionist Organization as such is composed mainly of representatives elected by members of different Zionist organizations who pay an annual *shekel* as dues. For example: the entire Administrative Committee and the Executive of the Zionist Organization of America are representing approximately thirty thousand *shekel* payers in the United States. Anyone contributing even ten thousand dollars for the purpose of rebuilding Palestine has no vote unless he be a *shekel* payer regularly enrolled as a member of some Zionist organization. None of the contributors to the Keren Hayesod become Zionist members by their contributions. They have no right to either elect a representative or present themselves to be elected to any office in Zionism. The same condition is true throughout the world. Consequently, a minority representing

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no more than one or one and one-half per cent of the total Jewish population have the actual control of Zionist affairs. This fact weakens the position of the leaders. They know that their mandate is not representing a majority of the Jewish people. Such system during the early stages of Zionism was perfectly proper. In the days of Herzl and his immediate successors a Zionist at least had to contribute a *shekel* per annum as dues to prove his interest. But since the Balfour Declaration was issued, there is no possible reason for such method of procedure. The *shekel*-paying Zionists are, therefore, no more than a political party. A whole people can never join a party. A party can embrace only such members as are in complete accord with its platform. A people, or a parliament of a people, has room for every shade of opinion. The remedy for this evil is a Jewish Congress of elected representatives of the entire world's Jewry. *Such a congress would be both the de facto and de jure Jewish agency to carry on the work in Palestine.*

The World Zionist Executive, as well as the Executive of the Zionist Organization of America, were forced into making all kinds of compromises in every direction in order to be enabled to have the *de facto* power to administer

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

the Zionist affairs both in Diaspora and in Palestine. The fact that the Executive of the World Zionist Organization have surrendered their right to be factors in the government of Palestine is of such gigantic importance that it cannot and will not be considered in any other light than that of surrender.

The Keren Hayesod project was initiated with a view of raising one hundred million dollars. Most of the money was to come from America. The greatest of efforts, both by the Executive of the World Zionist Organization and the Zionist Organization of America, brought only two per cent of the anticipated goal. In a year's time, with the prestige of Weizmann and Sokolow and with the hard work of every sincere Zionist in America, the cash raised is little more than two million dollars. The Palestinian budget in the last year and a half had to be first split in half and that half had to be halved again, until now it is but one-eighth of the original sum appropriated. The whole project now travels in a circle. Palestine is closed for immigration because there is no employment. There is no employment because there are no funds forthcoming to carry out any of the contemplated projects.

The optimists who believed that the mandate will solve the Jewish problem went far afield.

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Of course, there is no room for pessimism. Palestine will be *the* national homeland of the Jewish people. All that has transpired until now must be considered in no other light than that of *Athalta d'G'ulah* (beginning of liberation).

The European nations will continue to undergo a process of reorganization and rejuvenation. The Renaissance of the Jewish people cannot come about in one generation. British statesmen realize this fact. The extreme religious elements in Palestine itself, as represented by the *Agudath Israel*, decried the possibility of a government instituted by the World Zionist Organization. In America two agencies, the Z. O. A. and the P. D. C., work separately for the same end. The rich, the reform, and the radical Jews are either indifferent or actively opposed to Zionism generally. These outstanding facts more than any other led the British statesmen to believe that the majority of the Jewish people in Diaspora are not yet fully alive to the importance of the proposed Jewish national homeland.

England always keeps her promise. The Balfour Declaration was a solemn pledge to an afflicted people. England had to fulfil the promise, but it also had to look into the future

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and take in consideration possibilities and consequences. At best all the British statesmen could do under the present circumstances was an offer of a compromise. *They consider this compromise much more than the originally planned Herzl charter.*

The Balfour Declaration, however, was not made to the Zionist Executive alone. It was made to the whole Jewish people, which now numbers fully seventeen million souls. The whole world was England's audience, and no one can forget the phraseology of the Balfour Declaration. The Jewish people do not want Palestine as a British Crown colony, nor will they contribute large amounts to develop the commerce, industry and the natural resources of Palestine as long as the prospect of a majority of the inhabitants of the country being Jewish will remain remote. With Palestine immigration held down to a thousand or two thousand Chaluzim per annum, the percentage of the Jewish population in Palestine, alongside that of the Arabs and the others, will always remain small. The benefits of good government and of all improvements, if conditions remain as they are now, will be harvested by the Arabs. This will make their position very much stronger and enable them to actually dom-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

inate, not only immigration, but every other branch of the government in Palestine.

Analyzing the situation, another disturbing element is discovered. The World Zionist Organization, having no governmental powers nor ecclesiastical authority, are nevertheless endeavoring to control the system of education in Palestine. At best, their services can be rendered only in an advisory capacity. With an overwhelming element of opposition among the Palestine Jews, the government will continuously have two fighting factions on their neck. The result will be intrigue and regress.

The solution to these perplexing problems can be found only in a World Jewish Congress, preferably at Jerusalem. Such a congress should consist of representatives elected on a democratic basis by the whole world's Jewry. Such a congress should not be organized in a hurry. It should be held not earlier than 1924. The attention of the world will be focused upon a congress like that and the voice from a united Israel will be listened to by all governments, particularly by Great Britain.

Every student of current history will recognize in the White Paper issued by Great Britain a sincere attempt to live up to both the spirit and the letter of the Balfour Declaration,

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but temporarily prevented by internal and external circumstances from initiating the work at once. In all this chain of events which cause the hope of Israel to ebb and flow, everyone can see the Hand of God. The people of Israel have gone back on many of the traditions so dear to their ancestors. Judaism has taken a secondary place in the daily lives of the Jewish people throughout the world. The rich continue to endeavor every effort to harness all principles of Judaism and limit their forcefulness to the range of convenience and comfort only.

The economic ruin of European Jewries will be rebuilt. But the spiritual ruin which has taken place in the last two score and ten years cannot so easily be repaired. A spiritual awakening within Israel must come to pass. No State Department, no Congress and no Parliament in the world can restore Palestine to the Jewish people as their national homeland. This only God can do, and He will do it whenever Israel will be worthy of it. The people of Israel will get Palestine all to themselves the very moment they will be ready to receive it. The priests needed special garments and had to be in every other way under no disability, either physically or morally, before they were per-

## THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

mitted to enter the service of God. The holy of holies required still more special garments and still greater preparations. The Jewish people have become too much absorbed in everyday matters, and therefore delay after delay comes to pass in order to enable them to prepare themselves to reenter the service of God.









